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FIG. 1. AN EASTER ISLAND TABLET (B. 3629) IN THE BERNICE PAUVAHI BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU.

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Métraux

TWO EASTER ISLAND TABLETS IN BERNICE PAUHI BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU. By
Dr. A. Métraux, Bishop Museum Fellow.

1 Since the time when Easter Island tablets were first discovered by Bishop Tepano Jaussen of Tahiti, they have been regarded as highly valuable objects. With few exceptions, the early missionaries and visitors to the island made every attempt to secure these rare and precious documents. In the beginning the natives apparently showed no reluctance to part with the tablets, but Father Zumbohn, a missionary on the island in 1866-1870, tells that a beautiful tablet 135 cm. long, which he had purchased from a native, was lost or destroyed 'out of jealousy.' Possibly many tablets were burned by the natives. It is sheer calumny to state that they were destroyed by order of the missionaries, who, on the contrary, tried their utmost to save them.

We know of the existence of sixteen authentic tablets in several institutions. To these may be added a few objects bearing tablet signs for ornamental or other purposes. Most of these tablets have been mentioned or described in scientific papers. The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, owns two tablets and a fragment of a third. These have never been described and have passed unnoticed by those who have studied the subject. The fragment of tablet was acquired on Easter Island, in 1886, by Lieutenant Symonds of the U.S.S. *Mohican* and was later presented to the Museum.

The Bernice Bishop Museum also has a piece of wood (B. 3622) bearing twenty-two tablet signs. This specimen is not described here, as its authenticity is doubtful. The signs appear to have been incised with a steel implement, and do not show the regularity and beauty of outline which characterize the original tablets. Modern natives of Easter Island are fully aware of the great value of the tablets. Many of them have specialized in the manufacture of imitations. Several faked tablets, purchased on the island in recent times, have reached private or public collections, where they are held as genuine specimens. Among these modern tablets is one in the Lateran Museum in Rome (Cat. 6442).

The tablet in the British Museum was acquired by that institution not long ago (1903). Judging from photographs, this tablet does not appear to me to be a relic of the ancient culture of Easter Island. The signs are poorly engraved and suggest the style of modern artists.¹ Faked tablets had been made on the island prior to 1882, as evidenced by a wooden gorget acquired by a German officer of the *Hyena* in that year. This gorget bears signs unmistakably of recent origin. It is preserved in the Australian Museum.²

The two tablets in the Bishop Museum are in poor condition. The wood is partly rotted, as if it had been exposed to weathering for a long period, and it has been partially destroyed by insects. The remaining signs appear on one surface only, the other surface being entirely decayed. Probably these tablets were kept for some time in a cave, and the side lying on the ground was greatly injured by the damp soil.

¹ Dalton, O. M., *On an inscribed wooden tablet from Easter Island (Rapa-nui), in the British Museum*; *MAN*, 1904, 1.

² Thorpe, W. W., *An inscribed wooden gorget from Rapa-nui (Easter Island)*; *Poly. Soc., Jour.*, vol. 33, pp. 149-150, New Plymouth, 1924.

The best-preserved specimen is shown in Plate A (Bernice Bishop Museum, B. 3629). It is 12 inches long, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. The tablet was partially destroyed by fire, as may be surmised from the charred portions on it. The signs have been incised according to the best classical tradition of Easter Island carving. The width of the groove leaves no doubt as to the authenticity and antiquity of the specimen: the symbols were engraved with a shark's tooth or an obsidian point. The same skill and the same vigour of design, which made the best tablets of Easter Island real works of art, characterize the execution of this tablet. On the surface left intact the signs form eleven rows. The characters, of which 120 are still legible, cover an area 4 by 5 inches. In conformity with the ordinary pattern of Easter Island tablets, the rows of signs are reversed alternately.

The second tablet (B. 3623), shown in figures 2 and 3, is $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and 1 inch thick. One surface is flat; the other is convex and contains the twenty-five unobliterated signs, which are all around a natural hole in the wood.

The fragment of tablet (B. 445) given by an officer of the *Mohican* is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide. It shows only three characters.

The catalogue written by J. L. Young gives the following information about the tablets: "Some, at least of the tablets are said to contain the catch words of chants and recitals, but no satisfactory interpretation has been arrived at, notwithstanding the efforts of myself and

" of others with the assistance of natives of Rapa-nui. According to these latter, the lettering refers to local matters, such as planting, fishing, land titles, etc., and is not historical in the sense of relating events which occurred outside of Rapa-nui. However, it must not be forgotten that what the present generation of natives say about the tablets is pure imagination; they really know nothing of their origin. The natives say that such a figure represents 'a chief sitting on his land'; another figure, that of 'the Pleiades'; still another, that of a 'piece of land in culture,' but I am of opinion that all these are merely guesses."

Interest in the tablets was revived a few years ago when an Hungarian linguist, Mr. de Hevezy,³ pointed out striking and 'incontrovertible parallels' between the pictographic script discovered in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, in the Indus Valley, and certain signs of Easter Island tablets. The examples shown by Mr. de Hevezy were so striking and so perfect that no doubt could be entertained about the relationship between the two writings. Though Easter Island is almost at the antipodes of the Indus and its culture is separated from that of India by 5,000 years, the similarity of the two 'writings' was too great to be attributed to chance. Scien-

³ Guillaume de Hevezy, *Sur une écriture Océanienne paraissant d'origine néolithique*. Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, Nos. 7-8, Le Mans, 1933.

Id., *Osterinselschrift und Indusschrift*. Orientalische Literaturzeitung. Leipzig, 37. Jahrg. nr. 11, November, 1934, pp. 666-674.



FIG. 2. SYMBOLS ON EASTER ISLAND TABLET (B. 3623 = FIG. 3 opposite) IN BERNICE BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU.

tific authorities took a definite stand in the question and considered the parallels as evident. I happened to compare the examples chosen by Mr. de Hevezzy with the original photographs of the Mohenjo-daro seals published by Sir John Marshall and with the catalogue of the Indus signs prepared by Dr. G. H. Hunter. To my surprise, I discovered that most of the Indus or Easter Island signs presented by Mr. de Hevezzy lacked the accuracy desirable in such work. He has taken regrettable liberties with the signs. When restored to their original proportions or outlines, identical signs in his list ceased to show any similarity. For instance, he compares to an Easter Island sign a symbol of the Mohenjo-daro script which, as reproduced by him, represents a man wearing a sort of kilt (fig. 3, No. 10). The Indus seal on which this figure appears is broken, and half of the image is missing. In the catalogue, the missing part has been indicated as usual by shading. Mr. de Hevezzy makes a kilt of this conventional marking and compares the sign thus reconstructed to an Easter Island figure whose lower part is hatched.

The sign which Mr. de Hevezzy compares to an Easter Island symbol representing a wooden breastplate (*rei-miro*) has been inaccurately reproduced (fig. 4, No. 6). The small strokes at the ends of the curve have been fused with the curved line so as to make the sign resemble more or less the outline of the Easter Island design. Most of the signs have been submitted to similar adjustments.

If we discard these inaccuracies, the resemblances between Mohenjo-daro script and Easter Island 'writing' become extremely few and are reduced to simple geometrical signs. Mr. de Hevezzy contends that his drawings prove his discovery more eloquently than words. I shall follow his example and show that figures are more persuasive than comments. In figure 4 the column to the left has the Mohenjo-daro signs copied from photographs of the seal, in the central column are parallels presented by Mr. de Hevezzy, and in the third column are the Easter Island symbols as they usually appear on the tablets. I may mention the fact that among hundreds of variants of the different signs which appear on the tablets, Mr. de Hevezzy has picked out variants or isolated cases without paying any attention to the series of deformations and shapes a single sign is bound to take. In his comparisons

he has applied the method of certain linguists who compare at random words from two languages without considering roots or derived forms.

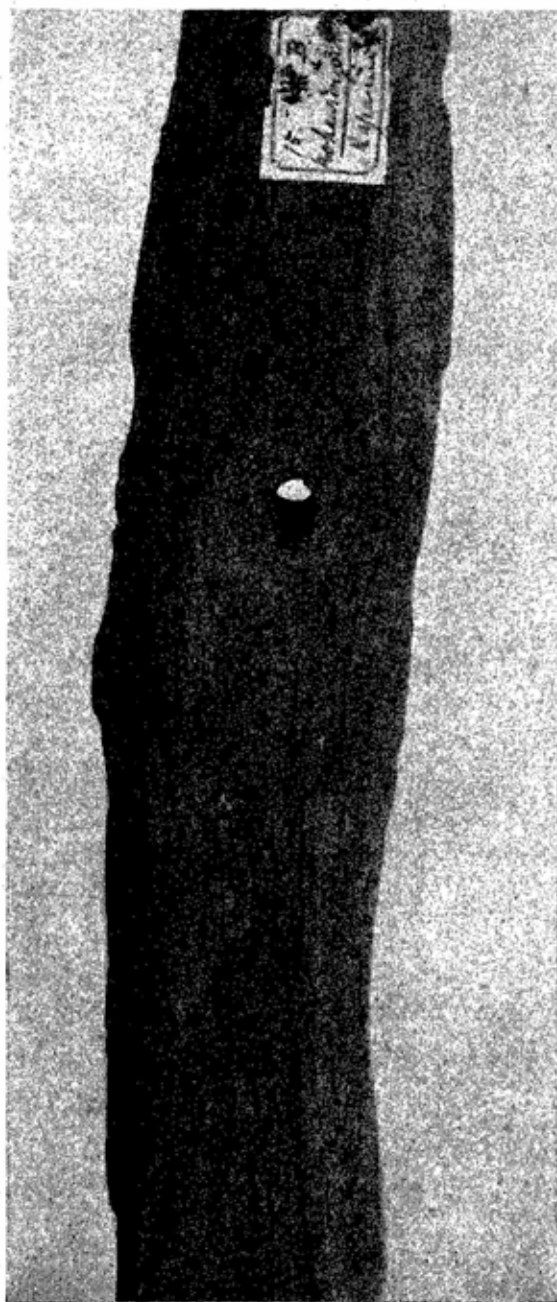


FIG. 3. EASTER ISLAND TABLET (B. 3623) IN THE BERNICE BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU.

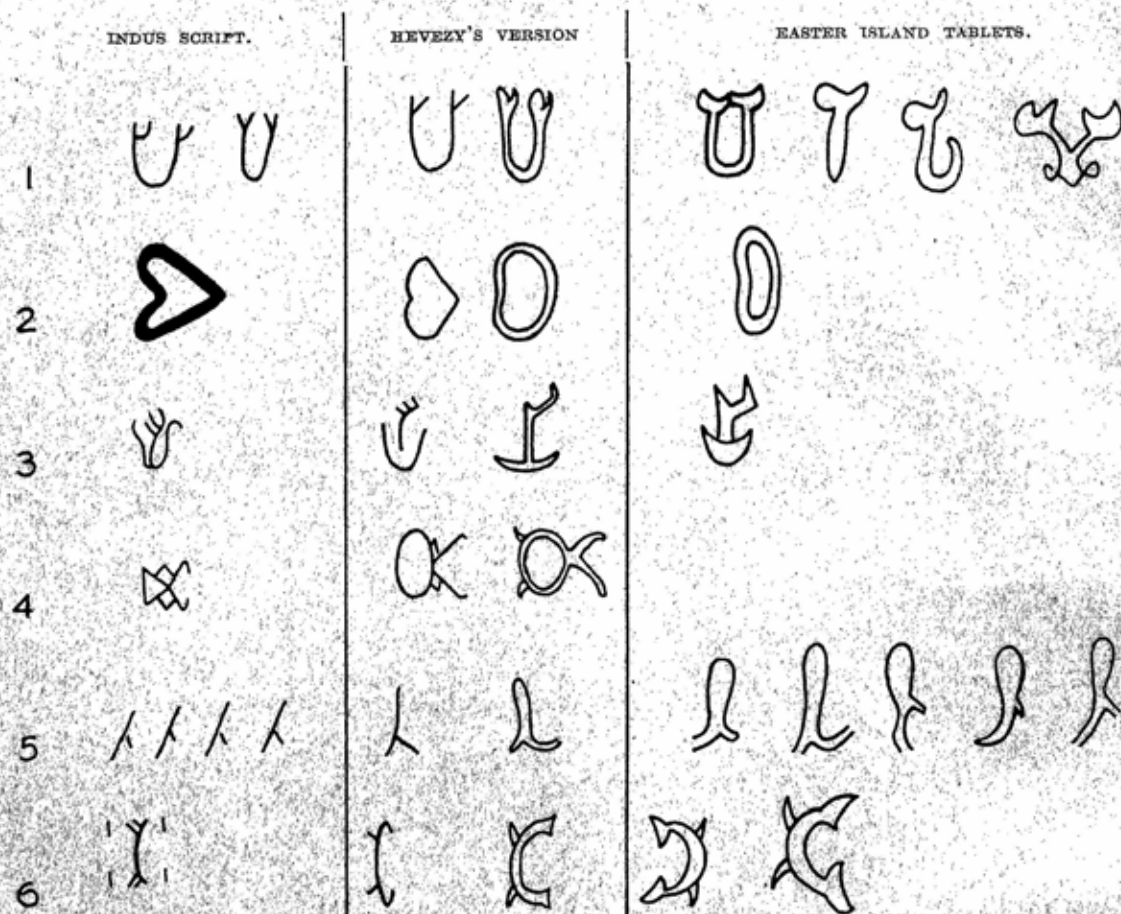


FIG. 4. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SYMBOLS OF THE EASTER ISLAND TABLETS AND THE WRITING OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

The Indus script compared with almost any primitive pictography shows a wider range of parallels than those it exhibits with Easter Island symbol.

We do not know the age of the tablets. Mr. de Hevezy thinks that they may be thousands of years old. On this question one fact is certain: the largest tablet in existence (the *Tahua* tablet ('The Oar') in the Museum of Braine-Lecomte) has been carved on a European oar. The signs

on this tablet are perfect and the authenticity of this tablet has never been questioned, not even by Mr. de Hevezy.

The college of *rongo rongo* men who preserved the Easter Island traditions and who carved the tablets existed under the same name in Mangareva and in the Marquesas—the two groups of islands whose cultures show the strongest affinities with Easter Island.

Figure 5 is on page 5.

BURYING THE HATCHET. By M. Lucas Bridges, *Tierra del Fuego*.¹

2 The tribe of Ona or Shilnum which once inhabited the greater part of the main

island of Tierra del Fuego have been written and spoken about so much that in this country they need no further introduction. As a race they are practically extinct, and it is doubtful if 100 pure-blooded survivors could be found. With a still smaller number of half-breeds, these have taken to the life of a small settler, or find

¹ Mr. Bridges is a sheep farmer in the island of Tierra del Fuego. His father was a missionary there, and he himself was born and brought up among the Yahgan. He was initiated into the Ona tribe and it is about these people that he has written. — EDWIN W. SMITH

	INDUS SCRIPT	HEVEZY'S VERSION	EASTER ISLAND TABLETS
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			

FIG. 5. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SYMBOLS OF THE EASTER ISLAND TABLETS AND THE WRITING OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

jobs as shepherds, a few making good wages at contract-shearing during the season.

These people have many interesting customs and ceremonies dating back, without doubt, to the distant past when the Ona were one with the Tehuelches of Patagonia, and when the natives of London and Paris searched diligently for flints with which to make their knives or arrow heads.

Nearly thirty years ago it was the writer's good fortune to be present at a ceremony which he has not been able to trace to any other tribe, so he will write it here before it is for ever forgotten. In order to make the picture clear it will be well to take a glimpse at the state of Ona society in the early days of the present century.

The southern half of Tierra del Fuego in its

full breadth, from Cape San Diego in the East to Admiralty Sound in the West, had no settlement south of Mr. Jose Menendez' farm, the 'Primera Argentina' at the Rio Grande, to the coast of the Beagle Channel; and except by the 'Expedition of Limits' (Frontier Commission), and one or two adventurous wanderers, was practically unexplored. The larger part of this land is mountainous, and up to the level of perpetual snow covered either with forest or bog, generally quite impassable for a horse. Over this difficult country wandered perhaps 400 of the Ona tribe, living chiefly on guanaco meat, but sometimes going to the Atlantic coast for fish, seal, or sea birds. They also ate a certain amount of tree fungus, tree-sap, and, in the northern parts, some camp rats (*tucutucu*).

These mountain-men in Tierra del Fuego, as in

other parts of the world, were not famous for their love of peace; and had solved the problem of overcrowding by murderous feuds between the clans, and even between families. The much-hunted guanaco and the few wild geese were in those days exceedingly shy and difficult to approach, so that it took a very good man when armed only with a bow and arrows to keep his family and old folk supplied with meat. In addition to this an enemy might be hiding behind a rock or in any clump of trees in ambush, so it is not to be wondered at that the survivors were very tough and enduring; with the sight and hearing tuned to an incredible sharpness, and an intuition which seemed like some sixth sense. In spite of all this, however, I believe that in normal times more men amongst the forest Ona lost their lives at one another's hands than from all other causes combined.

Settled at Cambaceres, a section of the Harberton farm at the eastern end of the Beagle Channel, the writer, a native of the country, had special facilities for gaining the friendship and confidence of these people, and often went for a considerable time to share their primitive lives and rude, sometimes scanty, fare.

At the time of this story, the central Northern groups were encroaching more and more on the hunting grounds of the scattered Southern and Eastern clans, who at times sank their party feuds to combine against them; thus all parties were dwindling sadly, the last horrible affair having cost the Northerners, who were surprised at daybreak, six men and either six or seven women, and the attacking party one man, Yoknolpe.

Over a year before this event the Northerners had found an opportunity to surprise the Southern party and killed five men and two boys in revenge for the recent murder of two of their party by the mountaineers. One of the Northerners had secured a rifle some time before by shooting a miner near Cabo Auricosta with an arrow, and this, combined with the fact that they surprised their enemies when the latter were very disunited, gave them the great advantage. The Southerners had now obtained three rifles from a certain white man called Contreras, who, I am glad to say, was condemned to a long term of imprisonment, though for another crime he committed shortly afterwards. These three rifles, with ammunition, of which the opposite party had long ago finished

their small supply, combined with an early morning surprise, gave the Southerners a great advantage, in spite of which, however, one famous veteran, Cautempchl, who, it is said, had never run away from a fight without killing a man, lived up to his reputation for, though armed only with his bow and arrows, he doubled back in a thicket, killed the most venturesome of his pursuers and managed to get away with his rifle. Some of the Northern women, finding the corpse, in their rage started to mutilate it, when Yoknolpe's nephew, returning from the pursuit armed with a rifle, shot six or seven of them. Except in legend such a thing was unheard of, and even the murderer's own people were shocked, the women looking away or hiding their faces when he passed, reminding him of it till his violent end a few years later.

By kidnapping three of their children and putting them on an island where there were some good folk, I was able to bargain with the parents and collect two of the rifles, returning the children, but it was impossible for these people to understand or approve of a friend who could not share their hatred for their enemies or join them in their raids. I still wandered freely through the country and visited all parties, but knowing full well that a firearm was a great temptation, and that if evil was determined it would be a surprise and I should have no chance at all, deemed it at times more prudent to go unarmed.

This uncertain existence, however, was most trying, and at last it was possible to arrange a meeting for reconciliation at a place near the Atlantic coast called Najmish, now known as Old Viamonte.

A considerable number of the Northerners were encamped on the edge of a large wood, and the Southerners, having previously sent a messenger, came up openly and made their encampment in a wood across the open grass land, about half a mile away. As the afternoon drew on both parties—the men painted in red and white spots and lines, several patterns which had certain meaning for the initiated—gathered on the nearer edges of their respective woods, and the Southern men came across at a brisk walk followed by their women and children. The visitors stacked their bows and quivers of arrows near by, and drawing up to within a few yards of the others, who were seated, spoke quietly

and with dignity, one at a time, some of them soon sitting down. The Northern men answered them in much the same manner, and the burden of what they said was, 'There are very few men left now. We are the same people (related). Why should we hate one another till there are none left? We are not angry any more.' Certainly their short remarks absolutely lacked the eloquence which any considerable meeting evoked among the Yaghans of the Beagle Channel and Southern Islands, but they said all that was needed; while some of the women, not to forget their grief, broke in with low wailing.

Suddenly, a young man from among the Southerners stepped up to the man he considered he had injured most and, taking five arrows from beneath his guanaco skin robe handed them to him and walked off to a distance of about sixty or seventy yards,² then facing the company he removed his mocassins and threw aside the guanaco skin robe, his only garment. The five arrows mentioned had had the barbed flint or glass heads removed, and about half an inch from the ends a piece of sinew or thin hide was bound tightly round, making a button, the size of a cherry, to prevent the arrow penetrating. The recipient, drawing to the front, dropped his robe and discharged the five arrows in quick succession with all his force at his opponent, who was supposed to run or trot toward him dodging the arrows as he came.

The Southern men of any value had each provided himself with five arrows, and selecting in most cases different opponents went through the same performance. The Northerners, when the others had finished, produced their prepared arrows and most of them did the same, allowing their most conspicuous enemy his five shots. When the man acting as target failed to draw nearer to his adversary, but rather showed off by prancing about heedlessly, his own people (not his adversary's) remarked it, and some of the older men, speaking among themselves, remarked that a certain Shishcolh not only jumped about needlessly but was incorrectly

painted. Once each volley was over, the actors resumed their robes and joined the onlookers.

The quickness of sight and movement displayed by most of these men was surprising, but in spite of this more than one had a slight wound of which, of course, he took no notice. One very small medicine-man from the Northern group, middle aged but exceedingly active, called Yoioyoh, selected a famous killer, Halimink, from among the Southerners, and giving him five arrows made a really beautiful exhibition of dash and agility. The flight of the arrow is so swift one can hardly follow it with the eye across that short space, yet little Yoioyoh darted towards his opponent and escaped without a scratch, so quickly and exactly did he dodge and duck. He reserved his little show wisely till the last, and it gave rise to favourable comment which led to general chat and even laughter.

For two or three days there was friendly intercourse between most of the individuals, visits being exchanged, the women going fishing together, and the lads meeting in friendly wrestling, very different from the rough wrestling the men of different clans indulge in at times. The feud was over, and though there have been two or three fatal individual quarrels since, there have been no planned raids or fighting between clans and families.

The Ona assert that this is a very ancient ceremony only taking place when all are agreed that a feud should end; that none of the young men had seen it performed in earnest, but the elder ones had seen or taken part in it long ago, and that it was strong promise not to fight any more; that never more or less than five arrows were used, prepared by the man they were to be shot at.

They occasionally played at dodging arrows, for practice in battle, much in the manner described, calling the game *jelh*. They would also use their robe as a shield, and I have been told that held slack at arm's length they were quite useful to check an arrow even when fired in earnest. Lads, too, were often pelted with tree fungus or pebbles and grew expert at dodging them.

But the order has come to move on and these things are no more, and will not come again.

² Note, 5 July, 1933.—Meeting an old Ona today who was present at the ceremony described, he tells me, on talking the matter over, 'that my memory is bad and the first arrow was fired at not less than 80 to 90 yards, and the nearest at Yoioyoh not under 40.'



FIG. 1. THE T'AO T'IEH MASK ON A LINTEL FROM PHNOM DEI, CAMBODIA.
 Photograph by the Ecole Française de l'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.

THE T'AO T'IEH MASK. By Major Erik Seidenfaden, Bangkok. Illustrated.

3 In MAN, 1936, 3, Dr. Leonhard Adam writes on the art of the North-West Indians, the Haidas, and of Chinese parallels such as a certain relief on the lower border of a bronze bell, dating back to the times of the Chou dynasty, showing the T'ao T'ien mask in the centre surrounded by a criss-cross of ornaments which are disentangled as two symmetrical pairs of stylized animals—snakes and dragons. This motif he finds again in certain wood-carvings executed by the Haida Indians of British Columbia, and thereby connexions between Asiatic and American art motives are established.

To students of ancient Cambodian art there is, of course, a much nearer parallel to be found in the classic ornamentation of the lintels of the temple towers of the Khmer.

A certain type of the ornamentation of the Khmer lintel, classified by the late Major Lunet de Lajonquière in his monumental work *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, I, (1902), p. lxxxii, as type III, is described as follows:—"Au centre une tête de monstre est représentée de face, les yeux sont ronds et saillants, la gueule est largement ouverte, des pattes maigres et crochues apparaissent parfois à hauteur du cou. Il supporte un socle sur lequel est représentée, debout ou assise, mais toujours de face, une divinité bramanique. De

"la gueule du monstre partent deux guirlandes que, suivants d'abord une ligne horizontale à la partie médiane du panneau, se recourbent ensuite pour venir se terminer en volutes de feuillage dans les angles inférieures Des cavaliers, des danseuses, des adorateurs, des lions issants, des animaux fantastiques sont parfois mêlés à cette ornementation."

As will be seen from this description and the photograph (Fig. 1) of a sculptured lintel from the temple at Phnom Dei, Cambodia, which has been placed at my disposal by the courtesy of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, there can be no doubt that the Cambodian motif is paralleled by that of the Chou dynasty. In this connexion I should like to draw attention to a recent study by M. Henri Marchal, Chief of the Archaeological Service of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient *Des influences étrangères dans l'art et la civilisations Khmers*, Saigon, 1936.

In this study M. Marchal opines that the Cambodian civilization and art are an outcome of the blending of two civilizations, a western and an eastern. The latter he calls the Oceanian civilization, whose cradle is unknown but the traces of which are found from Central America via the Pacific, Insulinde and India as far as to Madagascar. The head of the monster, Makara or Rahu, in Chinese called T'ao T'ien, and in Java Kala, is

found in the masks of the Maya art and in Oceania. He traces the origin of this element to the head-hunting habits of certain primitive people—Wā, Dayak, and tribes in New Guinea and South America), who use the heads of slain enemies for protective magical purposes. As we know of the important rôle that magic played in the earliest

forms of art, right back to the cave paintings and sculptures of the Cro-Magnon and Magdalenian people (though I for one am not prepared to accept the theory that *all* art originated from magic), it seems that M. Marchal is right in his theory of the origin of the motif of the above mentioned ornament.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Economic Life and Technology of the Yami of Botel Tobago. *Summary of a Communication presented by Mr. E. R. Leach, 23 November, 1937.*

Botel Tobago is a small island near Formosa and is Japanese territory. It is inhabited by an isolated Indonesian community called the Yami, whose closest cultural affinities appear to be with the inhabitants of Batan Islands immediately to the North of the Philippines.

The paper is chiefly concerned with a description of the material aspects of Yami culture but the aim is not so much to go into elaborate technical details as to demonstrate the interdependence of the form and the functions of particular designs. In so doing it is necessary to attack the belief that the historical diffusion of culture can be traced by comparing similar tricks of technical design which may arise under different cultural conditions. Technique may be so violently modified by the effects of cultural and physical environment that the search for diffusionist origins becomes not so much invalid as irrelevant. My own interest is not to search for freakish peculiarities, but to examine how the technical apparatus is interrelated with the social and economic context.

Referring to Mr. Hornell's account of the Botel Tobago boat in MAN, 1936, 200, I point out the weaknesses of any such purely technological argument, which entirely ignores the cultural environment of the material object. Mr. Hornell has stressed the significance of the comb cleat rib attachment of the Botel Tobago boat, but by demonstrating that a similar device is incorporated in the Yami house designs, I argue that the implications of such a feature have no specific reference to boat design but only to the type of tools in general use. In a further discussion of boat design I point out that the Yami boats are propelled by oars and not by paddles, and that this is not a purely arbitrary alternative but is a fact related to the lateral stability and buoyancy of the craft in question, which factors in turn can only be considered in the light of the particular climatic conditions in which the boats are used. Similarly, when discussing house design, I seek to show that all the seeming peculiarities of structure can be regarded as a perfectly logical deduction from environmental circumstance, and that material design and social use are exactly adjusted to fit into one another. A brief description of the cycle

of the Yami economic year particularly in relation to the flying-fish season explains how such seemingly unrelated factors have their effect even upon details of material design. The Yami conceptions concerning government, wealth, and ownership are only treated superficially. Pottery making, weaving, and clothes in general are discussed less thoroughly than the house and boat construction. The argument concerning a particular type of light coconut fibre 'cuirass' shows that a purely diffusionist explanation on the basis of technique alone would be misleading, and that even a superficial study of this object within its cultural context must lead off immediately into the complicated byways of Yami law and religion.

Specimens of Yami clothes and implements were exhibited, with photographs and drawings.

The aim throughout is to make the Yami material the basis for a more general argument designed to show that the usual arbitrary distinction between material and social culture serves no useful purpose in modern anthropology.

African Ethnology and the New World Negro. *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor Melville J. Herskovits, 14 December, 1937.*

This paper continues a previous discussion of research into the cultures and physical types of New World Negroes and their related ancestral West African forms.¹ In this earlier discussion, it was indicated that on the basis of study in the United States, and field-work carried on in Dutch Guiana (Suriname) and elsewhere in the West Indies, it seemed apparent that certain West African cultural types were localized in specific regions of the New World, and that aboriginal tradition had been retained to a greater degree than had previously been recognized.

An expedition to West Africa in 1931, and another to Haiti in 1934, clarified many points concerning the relationship between New World and West African cultures. In West Africa, research was conducted in that region of the Guinea Coast to which all contemporary slaving accounts, as well as experience in Dutch Guiana had pointed as the most important locale for work, since it seemed that it was the cultures centred here that had been most important in fixing the patterns of New World Negro life. Though the major portion of the avail-

¹MAN, 1931, 66.

able time was spent in Dahomey, whose culture has been relatively ignored by modern ethnographers, opportunity was taken to visit the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Ashanti of the Gold Coast. Field work in Haiti was carried on in an isolated valley of the island where, next to Suriname, African culture has been retained in greater purity than perhaps anywhere else in the New World. Here it was possible actually to draw on the background of first-hand experience in West Africa, especially Dahomey, from which much of Haitian peasant culture has derived. As a result it could be determined how the Negroes of the island had amalgamated West African and European customs so as to form the complex mosaic that constitutes the living culture to be found to-day; a culture from which important conclusions are to be drawn as to the manner in which cultures having different patterns may on contact merge these into a going concern.

Methodologically, the simultaneous employment of historical sources and comparative ethnographic analyses is to be considered a development of the past few years. But little of this type of attack had been previously attempted, and, even then, this approach was utilized where there was no possibility of working in full-blooded cultures such as are found among New World Negroes. However, because of the application to the problems of the New World Negro of historical materials and ethnographic documents in the manner indicated, we to-day know the tribal derivations of these folk to a far more precise degree than has heretofore been thought possible.

Still another result of this research has been to indicate the usefulness of a knowledge of New World Negro cultures to students of West African societies, as it has been found that work in this former region can give leads for the discovery of aboriginal institutions, attitudes, and values that, in the complexity of West African cultures, seem at times to have been overlooked.

These New World Negro data can also give a convenient check on certain findings of the field-worker in West Africa, for he can be sure of results where similar findings emerge from study among New World Negro cultures. Finally, and most importantly, this approach gives the student a tool which he can employ to obtain a sense of the cultural values held by the West African, since the African traits of New World Negro cultures that have most persisted can be regarded as those which, the total historical situation being allowed for, are lodged most deeply in the ancestral aboriginal traditions.

It can therefore be said that in the past few years the methods of attacking the problem, both in their anthropological and historical aspects, have been sharpened. To-day the need is for further prosecution of this attack on both sides of the Atlantic, and for the further analysis of the historical source materials from the point of view of the problem here being considered. It is hoped that British anthropologists will co-operate not alone by intensifying their work in West Africa, but also by

extending their field to the British Islands of the Caribbean and British Honduras, where many Negro cultures exist that are relatively unstudied. In this way, the analysis of cultural dynamics made possible by the use of data resulting from the historical accident of the slave-trade to the New World can be made under conditions of increasingly strict scientific control, and the problems of the nature and mechanisms of culture can to this degree be the better understood.

Recent Work in Southern Rhodesia. *Report by F. Posselt, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Plumtree, S.R.*

Blood Grouping Expedition.—Recently Dr. R. Elsdon Dew, M.D., and Mr. J. de Bruijne of the S.A. Institute for Medical Research, paid a visit to this district and made tests of the blood of the Makaranga group of natives. It was the object of the expedition to make further tests of the larger groups of natives in other parts of Southern Rhodesia, and then proceed north with the same object. The expedition had in view the possibilities of linking up with the work done by the French and Egyptian authorities on the same lines in Northern Africa, thus in due course to be able to compile a comprehensive map of the blood tests covering the Continent of Africa.

Ethnological Collections.—The Bulawayo Museum authorities are anxious to obtain collections of ethnological material for the National Museum.

One can only welcome this effort, at the same deplore the fact that it is being done so late. More than 25 years ago I made the first effort to interest our authorities in the importance of securing ethnological collections truly representative of the culture of the indigenous population of Southern Rhodesia. This and subsequent efforts led to no results, for apart from official apathy, there was always the stock reply, 'no funds are available for this purpose.'

Though not fifty years have elapsed since this Colony came under European administration, one is struck by the fact how rapidly native culture has become submerged.

In my extensive travels in Southern Rhodesia, I have found comparatively very little left of the old culture. Native arts and crafts find little expression in the form of objects of ethnological interest. It is mainly on the outer fringes of some districts where anything of real interest may still be obtained.

For instance, in the Northern section of the Darwin district, fine ceramic work is fairly plentiful; in the Eastern portion of the Mtoko district, weaving of bark-cloth is still common; also objects such as wooden head-rests and knives are comparatively easily obtained. It is true, basket and mat-making, and crude pottery are in vogue in many localities. Some of this is produced for sale to Europeans. Generally, implements and household utensils are now largely of foreign make. Everywhere one finds evidence of the imported article supplanting the indigenous product. Iron-

work which was widespread and had reached a considerable development, is now confined to a few localities and carried on by old men, the last of the former smiths' guilds; and most of these now use scrap-iron, no longer patiently smelting the local ore.

Musical instruments have practically disappeared. The drum being indispensable for dancing is maintaining its hold in those areas more or less remote from European centres. To a large extent one may attribute most of this to missionary influence which has been largely opposed to native music as savouring of pagan (say 'devil') practice. Even dancing has been largely influenced.

On one occasion in the Marandellas district, a special native dance was organized for my benefit. Strangely, though performed by so-called 'pagans' the dance was known as the 'Jerusalem,' the name having been apparently adopted from some mission performance, or by missionary converts. The dance was, however, an exceedingly interesting performance, to the accompaniment of three drums. One of the actions was the so-called 'animal dance,' where one or more dancers imitated the actions of animals or birds. Next day, being a Sunday, the local native preacher came with his congregation; juvenile and adult, male and female, and asked for permission to hold service near the camp, to which he invited me. The congregation was duly grouped, and drums not being permitted by the Church, clapping of hands was the only form of accompaniment to the singing. Youths and girls began

crawling about on all fours, making funny faces, and moved among those standing. I was perplexed at the meaning of the performance; it much resembled what I had witnessed the previous evening. I called the teacher and asked for an explanation. He said he was the author of the performance. On asking him what it meant, he replied, "Oh, Sir, it is Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden." Apparently a religious play based on a 'pagan dance.' Clearly, here the pagan had influenced the Church!

Karanga Custom.—Recently a native female was removed to the local hospital. She had given birth to a child, but owing to complications, the 'placenta' being retained, several days had elapsed before admission. The mother's breasts were very distended; the infant had not been nursed since birth. On making further inquiry into the custom of the Karanga and Matabele (Amandebele), I find that even in a normal birth the infant is not allowed to suck at the mother's breast for at least three days, as the secretion is believed to be harmful, and the milk must first 'clear up.' Hence, the infant is fed (by means of the hand) with goat's milk if available; otherwise it must subsist on water. During this time the mother empties the breasts by squeezing, the fluid being caught in dry cattle manure, and put into a winnowing basket or other similar receptacle.

The early milk of the cow (*umtubi*, Sindebele; *umvo*, Karanga) is used, however, by the Makaranga; among the Amandebele only by boys.

REVIEWS

AFRICA.

The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa: An Ethnographical Survey. Edited by I. Schapera. London: Routledge, 1936. xv, 453 pp. with map and illustrations, Bibliography, General Index, Index of Tribal Names and Index of Authors cited. Price 21s.

This notice of the latest product of the labours of Dr. Schapera and his team of collaborators, must be in the nature of a general appreciation rather than of detailed examination. To have this work now available so soon, following 'Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa,' is a feat which places that land under a debt to this group of men and women which, it is to be hoped, this generation of South Africans will at least begin to repay. But it is a debt of honour which, in the nature of things, will be increasingly recognized and acknowledged as the years pass. The task of 'human engineering', if I may borrow a phrase used by one of the collaborators in the earlier work and who now appears again with a notable contribution, is advanced a further step in that land of teeming human problems; perhaps at the very stage in the history of the Union when a contribution of this sort is most timely. There remains, as it seems to me, a third part of the task still to be completed; the task of assembling the material available for architect and builder. But I shall refer to that as I close.

It will be a thousand pities if the sub-title should prevent the ordinary reader from benefiting by and enjoying the contents of what is less a book than a library. Actually this is five valuable books in one.

The Editor himself has carried the burden of responsibility for guidance through what one might describe as the more arid portions of the journey. Dr. Schapera takes 'Work and Wealth, Political Institutions, Law and Justice,' as his special share, but links up with his collaborators and their treatment of the individual and social life among Bantu by his section on 'Cultural Changes in Tribal Life,' and by a share with Dr. Eiselen in 'Religious Beliefs and Practices.'

Of the first three chapters, which form a section by themselves—'Racial Origins, Habitat, Grouping and Ethnic History'—the first, by Dr. Raymond Dart, seemed to me of particular interest; the three together forming an admirable justification of the book's sub-title as a very skilful presentation, in thoroughly readable form, of existing knowledge. Immediately following comes a group of chapters which I would place, for skilled compression and at the same time most attractive readability, on a very high level indeed. This is the section of 'Social Organization, Individual Development, Domestic and Communal Life.' Here, Mrs. Hoernle, Mrs. Krige and Mr. Lestrade are responsible.

'Religion, Music, Literature and Language,' form the fourth main section, and here Mrs. Hoernle and Mr. Lestrade are joined by Dr. Kirby and Dr. Doko. Finally we have the story of contact with Europe in four important contributions: 'The Imposition and Nature of European Control,' by Dr. Marais, 'Cultural Changes'—as noted above—by the Editor, 'The Bantu on European-Owned Farms,' by Dr. Monica Hunter, and

'The Native in the Towns,' by Miss Ellen Hellmann. This fifth section is, naturally, something of an epitome of the group's previous volume.

Coming to this book with personal experience gained only among the tribes farther north—in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia—there are three points which have struck me. They are mentioned here, not as criticism (which would be an impertinence), but simply in comment. In the first place, I have been surprised to find how exclusively the full father-right conditions as determining social life and organization have been outlined here. I had not suspected that the great Bantu South was so homogeneous in this respect. In the second place, I was a little sorry that the old word 'taboo' seems to have been used throughout with so little sign of discrimination between the acts forbidden by social convention and good form and those having behind them something of a 'religious' sanction, and demanding something of 'religious' expiation. In the third place it was disappointing to find our misleading phrase 'ancestor-worship' accepted without (so far as I could discover) any hint of the fact that we are to-day realizing how some more intimate and domestic activity is involved among the Bantu; something more in the nature of 'family conclave over family business.' On the other hand it was pleasant to notice the use of such phrases as 'guarantee of equilibrium' in place of 'bride-price' and 'dowry'.

In conclusion I would like to venture the suggestion referred to in the opening paragraph above. I believe that a third duty lies upon this brilliant team of workers in South Africa. They have given us two-thirds of a trilogy; will they consider completing a great task by dealing with the remaining subject of research? They have given us Western Civilization and the Bantu first of all. They now give us the Bantu in history, in the setting which Western civilization has made for them and in their own intimate, communal life. What we need is as full a study of the Bantu mind, of Bantu thought and of Bantu capacity, in order to discover what Bantu ideology has to contribute to Western civilization. The 'human engineering' of the South Africa that is to be is not a matter now of parallel development of separate cultures, but of shared development from mutually contributing cultures. Hence we need another volume, 'The Bantu Mind and its Contribution for the Future.' CULLEN YOUNG.

Mœurs et Coutumes des Manjas. By A. M. Vergiat. Paris, 1937. 323 pp., 90 sketches and 24 photographs. Price 40 francs.

This handy little monograph fills one more gap in the mosaic of African cultures. The author's object is not to study culture contact, although he throws side-lights on European influence. M. Vergiat has chosen the Manja tribe as the most deserving of study among the tribes of the Oubangui-Chari region in French Equatorial Africa. The religion and initiation rites of the Manja have been already described in the author's preceding book: 'Les rites secrets des primitifs de l'Oubangui.' Now M. Vergiat proceeds to study the origin of the Manja, their social and family organization, material culture, intellectual life, folk-lore and myths. The student of social anthropology will regret that the kinship system and nomenclature, behaviour patterns, etc., have not been described.

The chapters on material culture and intellectual life are interesting and stimulating, although the literary form is that of a series of notes strung together. M. Vergiat is a very keen observer, and his knowledge of plant and animal life enables him to penetrate the minds of the natives with regard to their conception of natural

phenomena. An important contribution to ethno-botany is contained in these chapters. Of the 159 genera of plants listed by M. Vergiat, 60 genera at least occur also in Portuguese East Africa and are used in native medicine there. M. Vergiat states that many plants are considered by the Manja to possess a power which is both intelligent and spiritual, and that this power becomes a cult object to which sacrifices are offered.

The symbolism of tatu-ing and scarification is described in the chapter on material culture. It is a curious fact that the Oubangui river tribes, like the Chopi of Portuguese East Africa, give the name 'Cook's comb' to the line of keloid scars running from the forehead down the nose.

Some interesting sketches and details of game-traps are included in the same chapter.

As regards the myths and folk-lore in Part II, the astronomical legends are noteworthy. The folk-lore seems to resemble the Central African and Bantu types rather than the West African. This is especially the case with the animal fables. The Thonga tell a similar story to that of the hippopotamus, tortoise and elephant (p. 286). M. Vergiat states that a like one is found among the Pahouins of the Gaboon; and Professor Herskovits relates in 'Suriname Folk-Lore' a story of unknown origin, called 'The Tug of War,' which is practically identical. The part of the Trickster is taken by the Hare in Thonga, the Tortoise in the Gbaya, and Anansi, the Spider, in the Suriname version. E. D. E.

Mapungubwe. Ancient Bantu Civilization of the Limpopo. Edited by Leo Fouche. Cambridge University Press, 1937. Illustrated. Price 50s.

The importance of the Mapungubwe fortified ruins lies in the fact that they present a hitherto untouched outpost of Zimbabwe culture, in the Northern Transvaal.

Work has continued here since 1933, and as the value of the site was realized, it has received more and more expert attention. No better choice of writers could have been made. The excavation for much of the time was in the hands of Rev. Neville Jones. The metallic slag was examined by Professor G. H. Stanley, and vegetable material by Dr. I. Pole-Evans. J. F. Schofield undertook further excavation and describes the pottery, while beads were submitted to H. C. Beck. The gold recovered passed through the hands of Dr. M. Weber and Mr. R. Pearson. Ethnological notes covering the general history of the area have been added by Professor G. P. Lestrade, while many of the physical remains recovered have been fully described by Dr. Galloway. The course of the later excavations together with an outline of the original discovery, and a summary of conclusions, have been given by Mr. Leo Fouché.

The sites have yielded considerable quantities of ruins, pottery, gold plating, ornaments and tools, iron implements, and skeletal remains. From the stratigraphical deposits and their careful comparison with the better-authenticated remains from the Rhodesian ruins, there is considerable agreement upon the dating of the sites in relation to Zimbabwe. Rev. Neville Jones, on his own evidence and that resulting from Mr. Beck's examination of the beads, ascribes Mapungubwe to the second Zimbabwe period. Mr. Schofield describes five groups of pottery and suggests the following relationships to known types:—

M.1. A fine black ware, attributable to the Shona tribes and associated with gold working. It resembles Miss Caton-Thompson's B and B₁ wares.

M.2. A ware from Bambandyanalo, attributable to the Sotho tribes, and resembling Miss Caton-Thompson's class A pottery. Similar potsherds are known from Serowe, Zeerust and the Natal Coast.

M.3. seems to include various wares imported from surrounding tribes. This too resembles pottery elsewhere described by Dr. Laidler as Sotho.

V and P.M. are later types and are to be associated with the local Venda tribes, and with the Post-Mzilikazi period (1830-1898) respectively.

Schofield dates the whole pottery congeries as lying between 1500 and the present time.

Native traditions seem to link the site with the Zimbabwe complex. Two loosely-worded traditions are mentioned. One from Bechuanaland states that the Mapungubwe site was an outpost of the Monomotapa's empire, and took its name from the regiment stationed there. A Southern Rhodesian legend tells that the King of Zimbabwe visited the site, died, and was buried there.

There would seem to be little contentious in the book if Miss Cator-Thompson's work is accepted. In every major point her work is justified. It comes as a considerable shock, however, when Dr. Galloway's chapters are read. Here all our preconceived notions (whatever they may have been) are rudely shattered, and even the sub-title of the volume is belied. We may best review his chapters by a few striking quotations.

"So far no true Negro remains have been found at Mapungubwe."

"The scarcity of Negro features can mean only one thing, that the Negro features are alien."

"The human individuals . . . show such similarities . . . that they constitute a much purer physical type than would be expected from such a site. It represents a homogeneous people which had been stabilized over many centuries, since the racial features are so constant. It is a Bush-Boskop people, showing sporadically a few Negro features."

Dr. Galloway's evidence is frankly and very fully given. Whether it will be found that he has enlarged his Bush-Boskop type to cover too wide a range, or whether that term calls for substitution, the relative scarcity of Negro features is phenomenal and vastly important.

The weakest point in the volume is Mr. Fouché's rather inadequate summing up, but the volume as a whole must rank as a work comparable with the best attempts to unravel the Zimbabwe tangle. The entire editorial and scientific staffs are to be congratulated on an artistic and illuminating production. It is hoped that a further volume will be produced.

A. J. H. GOODWIN.

A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province. By Members of the Province Staff and of the Church Missionary Society. Edited by L. F. Nalder. Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by the Oxford University Press, 1937. 15s.

This tribal survey contains some new material which might well have been published, by the men who collected it, in *Sudan Notes and Records*. It does not merit publication in book-form. A questionnaire method of enquiry has been used by the editor who, owing to his slight knowledge of scientific methodology and anthropological terminology, has guided his contributors to confusion. He has seldom used the records of early authorities, such as Emin, Schweinfurth, and Junker, and has made little effort to collate his material with what is already known about Southern Sudan ethnology. Several of the contributors know well the areas about which they write and would have done themselves greater justice had they been persuaded to record independently their knowledge in *Sudan Notes and Records*. It is with regret that I must write critically of this interesting experiment in collaboration, but we have passed the stage at which it should be possible for an international institute to issue, without incurring criticism, books that fall far below scientific standards in ethnology. The book will be useful to the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but it cannot prove of much value to social anthropologists.

R. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

GENERAL.

A History of the English Coronation. By P. E. Schramm, translated by L. G. Wickham Legg. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1937. xv + 283 pp. Price 12s. 6d.

Professor Schramm has long been known as the most learned authority on coronation rites in Europe and their history, and his book on the English form was eagerly awaited: it has been translated by another writer of recognized authority and the result amply fulfils expectation. The origins of the various components of the ceremony, whether obsolete or still in use, are laid bare and their historical development described. The political and personal influences brought into play, so marked throughout history, are thoroughly examined and also the close connexion of the English rite with others in Europe. We are shown, on the secular side, how closely the ceremony reflects the constitutional history of the country and, on the religious, the varying relations between the King and the Church—primarily, of course, of Rome. Thus the rites were for long an index to the relations, often tense, between the Pope, the King and the barons who, as heads of the people, were taken to represent them. In the flood of writings and speeches about the recent occasion not a few errors have been circulated, some even by persons in high authority—they should not be possible after the publication of this book.

The magical or divine qualities once attributed to kings have received due attention, especially the supposed powers of miraculous healing and the practice of 'touching' for scrofula which came here from France,

where it died down in the latter half of the 18th century but was revived, though much opposed, in the first year of Charles X's reign—1825—but never again. This is a well-known matter but is only one among many that will interest the constructive anthropologist, including the question of unction round which many keen controversies have raged.

To this difficult matter the author has given much attention. The practice, as he has shown, was not part of the original essentials of the royal investiture but was first adopted in England, by way of Rome, in the tenth century, being derived from the Old Testament. To go back to further origins we may turn to M. Bloch's learned book 'Les Rois Thaumaturges'; he refers (p. 67) to a tablet from the famous Tell el Amarna letters to show that a Syrian prince, writing to Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten), reminds him that his grandfather Thothmes IV, who reigned towards the end of the 15th century B.C., had established the writer's grandfather as king 'and poured oil upon his head' (see Winckler's edition, No. 37 and Knudtzon's, I, No. 51). Since such a rite is not known in Egypt for the ordination of kings M. Bloch concludes that the tablet refers to some ancient Syrian and Canaanite rite employed for the occasion by the Egyptian overlord. The earliest recorded instance of such a practice in this region is the anointing of Saul by Samuel (I Samuel, ix, 16 and x, 1); but the text shows that when that book was written the idea of anointing as an act of consecration was already familiar to the people.

Now it cannot be presumed that oil had of itself a holy quality, for it was an object of the commonest

household use among the Israelites, as we may see in the stories of Elijah and Elisha and the poor widows (I Kings, xvii, 12 and II Kings, iv, 2). It had many uses (see Hastings' 'Dictionary of the Bible,' 1,100, f., s.v. 'Anointing'), as the Hebrew names will show: *yits-har*, shining; *shemen*, fat; *meshach*, smearing or anointing, from which comes the word transliterated into English as 'Messiah' and translated into Greek as 'Christos.' It served for lighting, cooking, eating and smearing the face (Psalms civ, 15). In the last case it was sometimes applied by hosts to their guests as an honour (cp. Luke vii, 46), a custom which probably caused Jacob to pour oil on the stones which, he believed, brought him his two holy visions; by doing so he honoured the divine power of which he conceived them a vehicle. (The stories were probably etiological, designed to explain the origin of two stones of holiness (*massabah*), perhaps of Canaanite origin—Genesis xxviii, 18 and xxxv, 14). Similarly the tablet from Tell el Amarna should probably be taken to mean that Thothmes, in establishing the Syrian prince as king, paid him a usual honour in anointing his face with oil and not that this constituted an act of consecration.

Here, it seems, is the point of contact with Egypt: for there, while oil was as much a common necessity of life as in Canaan, it was similarly used to anoint the face and body and, mixed with perfumes, was placed on the heads of guests at the festivals of the great and wealthy, constituting an act of gracious honouring (Erman, 'Life in Ancient Egypt,' transl., pp. 230-1). The offerings to gods, to kings in their godship and to the dead, who, in their own way, had a share of divinity, were composed of daily necessities, as food, drink, clothing, &c., and naturally included oil, which was provided of various kinds. It may have been the use of it for honouring divine beings that caused the Israelites, who adopted so much of Egyptian practices in their external ritual, to offer oil in the Tabernacle and, later, the Temple, and to attribute to it, thus employed, a degree of holiness. 'Anointing oil' and 'holy anointing oil' have frequent mention in the Bible; this must have been of a special category which is perhaps discoverable in the word translated as 'holy' (*qodesh*), the root-meaning of which is 'set apart.' The holy oil would accordingly be that set apart for the holy place, Tabernacle or Temple, which always had a store of it; from this store the oil was taken for the consecration of Solomon (I Chronicles, ix, 29 and I Kings i, 39). This oil was doubtless of the 'fine' quality known as 'beaten' (*kathiti*), for the process of pounding in a mortar yielded a better quality than the usual pressing. The oil used for the anointment of Saul and David was doubtless of the 'holy' category, though the name is not mentioned in the text.

The suggestion, then, is ventured that Egypt provided a model for the Israelites in their ceremonial use of oil, as, on the secular side, an honour to guests and, on the religious, as put apart for temple use, oil thus treated acquiring, for the Israelites, holiness.

The early Christians continued the use of oil for anointing the sick and so on, but attributed its wonder-working to the prayers said over it, but the theologians of the Middle Ages required a more celestial source for its power; in France they circulated the idea that miraculous healing of disease, in practice confined to scrofula, could only be effected by kings anointed with oil from heaven whence it had been brought by a dove for the baptism of the French king Clovis (later versions transform the dove into an angel—'Les Rois Thaumaturges,' p. 224). Later, the English, not to be outdone, contrived a legend of the Virgin Mary presenting Thomas à Becket, when in exile, with a vial of heavenly oil for the coronation rites of an English king to come (*op. cit.*, p. 238).

International rivalry about holy oil was of little moment; what really concerned the parties engaged was the struggle, suppressed or open, between king and priest on the manner of anointing and its effect, especially the thorny question of the *persona mixta* which kings sometimes claimed to be by reason of their anointment or sometimes refused to be, fearing subjection to the ecclesiasts. The very quality of the oil was involved, it being eventually decided that kings should not be anointed with the oil used for the function of the clergy but with the inferior kind used or catechumens.

These are a few, among many, of the interesting and often strange matters, circling round the coronation rites, that have received from our author minute and masterly attention, resulting in a book that should be digested by all students of our constitutional history and by anthropologists interested in the nature of kingship and its history.

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

The Growth of Literature. By H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick. Cambridge (University Press), 1936. Vol. II. xvii + 783 pp. Cloth, 30s. net.

12

This imposing volume is a good illustration of the inferiority of second-hand to first-hand learning. The name of Chadwick is honourably associated with sound knowledge of Germanic, especially of Old English literature; but neither author claims (indeed they disclaim with wearisome frequency) any special competence in the languages whose literatures are dealt with here, Russian, the various Yugo-Slav tongues, Sanskrit and classical Hebrew. The result is that the book, besides being unwieldily long and badly indexed, is one of the most appallingly dull performances the present reviewer has ever struggled through, and does not make up for its tediousness by giving that impression of expert judgment and minutely accurate information which so pretentious a work should. The authors indeed, in their preface, claim certain advantages for the writing of a work having so wide a scope by other than a group of specialists, who are apt among them to lose sight of the unifying and fundamental ideas of the whole study; but there seems to be no reason why a Slavonic, an Indian and a Hebrew specialist should not have been admitted to collaboration instead of being occasionally consulted.

It is to be doubted, moreover, whether the worth of the architectonic idea is great enough to justify so wide an excursion into fields nothing like complete acquaintance with which can be or is claimed. The general plan, outlined on p. 3, is to classify the material (early literature, and especially that literature, if it can be correctly so called, which is earlier than the general employment of letters) under (A) narrative poetry or saga (the latter word is defined to mean 'prose narrative preserved by oral tradition'), (B) verse or, rarely, prose speeches in character, (C) didactic literature, (D) works, mostly poetical, of 'celebration or appeal', as panegyrics, elegies, hymns, exhortations, (F) personal poetry, or, occasionally, prose. It needs no very profound study of the book to see that this framework, made to fit Greek and Germanic popular compositions, is often badly strained when stretched to hold the products of India and Palestine (see, for instance, p. 477 and still more p. 739). To justify itself, such an analytical scheme should be capable, not only of being applied, but of making clearer in important respects that to which it is applied, in this case the way in which literature has developed from songs, tales, charms and so forth passed from mouth to mouth into the MSS. and printed

books of its maturity. Every here and there, certainly, the authors' knowledge of saga and popular epic or lyric enables them to throw light on this or that point: they rightly, for example, denounce (as on pp. 642, 738-9) suggestions of Hebraists which represent Hebrew literature as following lines which no other ever followed. But a tediously large part of the work is taken up with ordinary literary and historical analysis, which one cannot help feeling would have been much better done, with more interesting results, in a history of Russian folk-song and -story, a work on ancient Indian epic and hymnology, and a full commentary on the Old Testament, or introduction to the literary and historical study thereof.

However, it must be admitted that we have here, for those who will mine for it, a great deposit of information concerning things as widely diverse as the nature and subject matter of Russian *byliny* and the structure of the *Mahābhārata*, the dates of Serbo-Croatian poems—in this connexion something might have been said of the work of the lamented Dr. Milman Parry—and the possibility that the 'sons of the prophets' were the carriers of Hebrew saga. But, unless the reader is gifted with a prodigious memory, the work is too much like an encyclopædia in size and variety to be, as a Greek critic would say, *ἐξονόστον*, readily seen and appreciated as a whole. Omission of much which would be more appropriate in a wholly different kind of treatise would make this one much more convenient and a great deal shorter.

Of actual mistakes the reviewer, who, like the authors, cannot claim any philological competence in these branches of learning, has found very few. It might be

worth noting, perhaps, that the charm mentioned on p. 574 has a closer parallel than the Anglo-Saxon one given; it is own brother to the *precatio omnium herbarum* which has been most recently handled by Delatte, *Herbarius*, p. 75, and some genetic connexion between the two seems far from unlikely. H. J. ROSE.

Ancient Egyptian Dances. By Irena Lexova. 84 pp plates. 1935. Price 5s.

13 For many years it has been said that the dances of ancient Egypt should be studied and published, but it has remained for Miss Lexova to lead the way in this highly specialized branch of Egyptology. She has wisely omitted the king's religious dances, and deals only with the dances held in private houses, whether performed by professionals or by amateurs. Though the volume is small, Miss Lexova has covered the whole period of Egyptian pictographic art, from the predynastic (Gerzean) era to the twenty-sixth dynasty. The book is profusely illustrated with line drawings showing the various movements of the dances as depicted by the Egyptian artists. The illustrations are happily chosen and the explanations of the dances are lucid and concise. By collecting together so many examples of each period Miss Lexova has made it possible to gain some idea of the changes in dancing in ancient Egypt. She is to be congratulated not only on having produced a book which is worth studying, but also on her good sense in publishing it at a price within the reach of all students. Should the book reach a second edition, it would be advisable to have the English of the translation revised. M. A. MURRAY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Motherhood in Australia.

14 Sir.—In a recently published work (*Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines*, p. 312) Dr. M. F. Ashley-Montagu takes objection to a statement of mine about the Australian aborigines. He quotes me, quite correctly, as saying that there is an obvious physiological relationship between a woman and the child to which she gives birth and that this is recognized by the Australian natives. He then writes as follows: "Upon what grounds Radcliffe-Brown attributes a knowledge of physiological maternity to the Australians I do not know, certainly there is nothing in the organization or in the belief of any Australian tribes which has thus far been described which would lend the slightest support to such a statement. Radcliffe-Brown's statement can only be explained upon the ground that the physiological relationship between a woman and her child seemed so obvious a thing to him that he considered, or rather assumed, that it could not but fail (*sic*) to be equally obvious to the Australians. Nowhere, however, has he, nor for that matter has anyone else, been able to produce any evidence in support of such a statement."

I should have thought that it was evident that the physiological relation to which I referred as being obvious is the fact that a child comes into the world out of the body of the mother and is not found under a gooseberry bush. Dr. Ashley-Montagu writes (p. 309): "Certainly it is quite clear to every Australian that every child passes into this world through the medium of some woman, and there is no one who would or could deny that this elementary fact is quite clearly recognized by the native." Since this is precisely

what my statement means, I am completely at a loss to understand why the author should censure me for saying what he says himself.

Dr. Ashley Montagu's thesis is that the Australian aborigines are 'ignorant' or 'rescued' of 'physiological maternity,' but I cannot find in his book any definite statement of exactly what it is that they are supposed to be ignorant of. All that we are offered are such vague statements as: "What the native does deny . . . is that there exists any tie of blood between a child and the woman out of whom it has come." One has to try to guess what 'tie of blood' may mean, and, more particularly, what it might mean to an Australian black fellow, since this is what he is declared to deny.

In his Foreword to the book Professor Malinowski describes it as "the best introduction to anthropology indeed, to social science," "an excellent prolegomena to primitive psychology," "a model of how ethnographic material should be surveyed," and, more generally, as an "admirable book." It must, therefore, be some failing in myself which prevents me from seeing in it anything except another of those monuments of muddled thinking that are occasionally but still too frequently erected in the name of anthropology. It is difficult to find an unambiguous statement of what the author is driving at, but the following is clearer than most. "We have seen . . . that everywhere in Australia whether the tribe be organized upon a patrilineal or upon a matrilineal basis that the relationship which the mother bears to the child is regarded as being, from the physical standpoint, none at all, whereas the relationship between father and child is practically everywhere emphasized, but, of course, in no physiological sense, but only in a strictly social sense."

I may be mistaken in my interpretation, but I take this to mean that in Australia what I call the physiological relation of a child to the woman who gives birth to it is not of any importance in determining the social relationships of the child. If that is what it means, or implies, then, in my experience, it is not true.

In collecting genealogies in Australian tribes (and I have done this in more than thirty tribes in different parts) it is necessary to ask an informant for the name of his or her own mother or of some other person's own mother. My experience is that the natives uniformly give me the name of the woman from whose womb the person in question entered the world.

If I may again quote my own experience I would say that for the Australians the essential feature of the social relationship between mother and child is that the mother feeds and cares for the child during infancy. Now though there may be rare exceptions the general rule is that the greater part of the task of feeding and caring for the child in its earliest years falls to the woman who gives it birth. If a woman dies in childbirth the baby, even if alive, is buried with her. Thus it does in fact happen that the physiological relationship between a woman and the child she bears becomes the basis of the social relationship of own motherhood through the fact of suckling. In the sign-language of N.E. Australia the gesture denoting 'mother' is to point to or touch the breast.

In a good number of Australian tribes what are called irregular marriages occur, i.e., marriages not in accordance with the primary rule that a man should marry a woman who stands in a certain relationship to him. In such marriages it is necessary, if the whole kinship system is not to be thrown into utter confusion, to trace the kinship of the children of the marriage through one parent only to the exclusion of the other. In the great majority of tribes in this situation, the kinship relations of the child are determined through the own mother, i.e., through the woman to whom the child stands in a physiological relationship as having been produced from her body. Thus the physical bond is recognized as determining social bonds and social status.

It is possible to go even further and say that in Australia it is the physical relation of the child to the mother which determines fatherhood, for the father of a child in the first instance is the husband of the woman who gives it birth.

Pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant.

It is these facts, which can readily be verified in the field, which constitute what Dr. Ashley-Montagu calls the 'error' which I am said to have gone quite out of my way to perpetuate (page 313).

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN.

Human Sacrifice and the Śabarās of Orissa.

15 **SIR**—In a Calcutta daily newspaper, *The Statesman* (4 August, 1936), it has been reported that a man named Pita Sabar was transported for life on the charge of sacrificing a boy called Din Mohammad before the stone-image of the goddess Chandi. Mr. S. G. Chandra, the judge, has supplied the writer of this letter with the following information:—"Pita Sabar, stout, wheat-coloured, about 5' 4" in height, with coarse features, high cheek bones and a flat nose, age about 18 years, illiterate, belongs to an aboriginal caste known as Sabar, resident of Jharani village in Patna State. The image of Chandi Aparajita was an ordinary stone of conical shape painted with vermilion." It should be stated here that Chandi and Aparajita represent one and the same goddess and that Patna State is situated in Orissa (*Imperial Gazetteer of*

India, XXVI, 1931, pl. 31). This case, viewed from an ethnological stand-point, may be presented in the following manner:—Pita Sabar, an illiterate man belonging to Orissa and to the aboriginal tribe called Sabar, sacrifices Din Mohammad, a Muhammadan before a stone of conical shape painted with vermilion symbolising Chandi, a Brahmanical goddess.

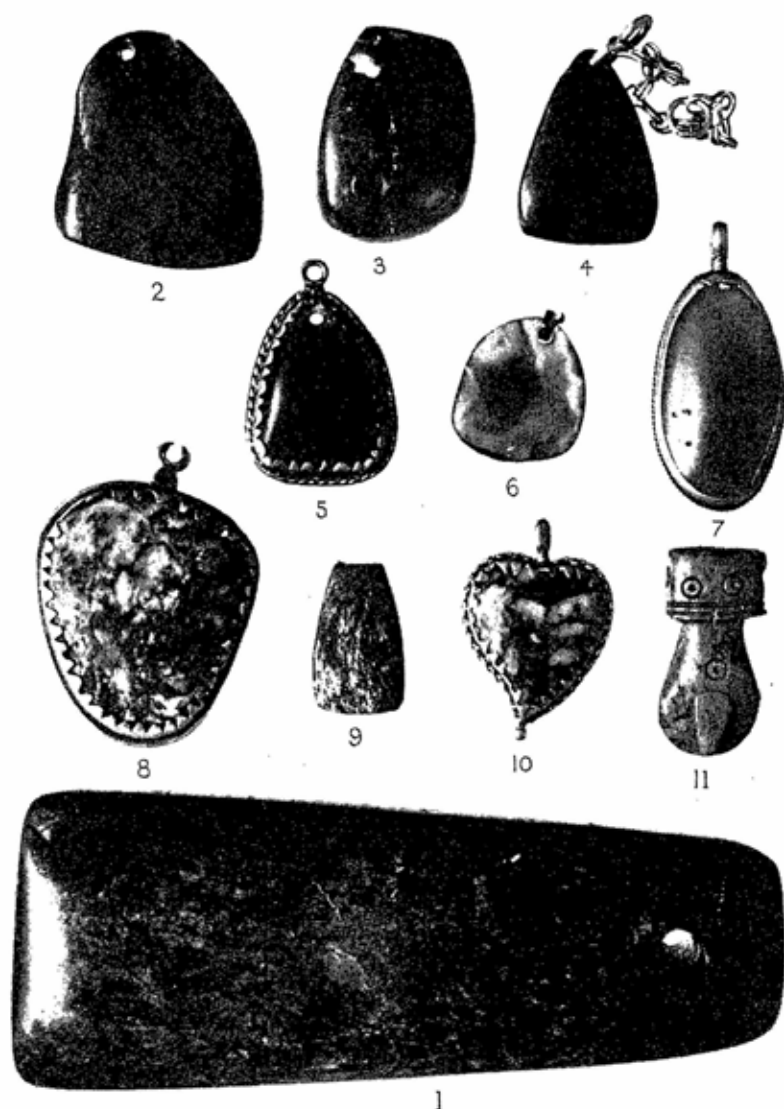
The object of this letter is to point out the few points of ethnological importance contained in this case. Firstly, religious custom, as opposed to codified religious practice, leads a man to perform human sacrifice; otherwise the human sacrifice performed by an illiterate man like Pita Sabar cannot be properly explained. Secondly, religious custom allows the sacrifice of any human being, irrespective of religion, before the goddess Chandi; otherwise we cannot account for the sacrifice of Din Mohammad, a Muhammadan, before this Brahmanical goddess. Thirdly, this case establishes for the first time that the Sabarās of Orissa sacrifice human beings before this Brahmanical goddess. That this religious custom, prevalent among the Sabarās of modern Orissa, is handed down from ancient age is understood from the perusal of a story contained in the *Jaina Prakṛta* work called *Samarāśica Kahā* by Haribhadra ascribed to the 9th century A.D. by Jacobi. (*Samarāśica Kahā*. Edited by Hermann Jacobi). In it there is the mention of a temple of Chandikā and the offering of a human sacrifice. The main purport of the story which is important for our purpose runs in the following manner: Kālasena, the Sabarā chief, caught hold of Dharana who had started from Dantapura, took him prisoner, and led him towards the temple of Chandikā who was his kuladevatā for sacrifice (i.e., pp. lxxvii-lxxxiv, 435 ff). It is well-known that Dantapura was situated in Orissa and there is also sufficient indication in this text to show that this temple was situated near Dantapura. From this it is deducible that the Sabarās of Orissa in ancient times used to perform human sacrifice before the goddess Chandikā. Here it should be mentioned that Chandi, Aparajita and Chandikā represent one and the same goddess. If we compare this story with the case under discussion, then we might be tempted to conclude that the custom of the human sacrifice is prevalent among the Sabarā tribe of Orissa from ancient times. Fourthly, it is interesting to note that this image of Chandi is an ordinary stone of conical shape painted with vermilion. It is worth noting that there is a close analogy between this practice and one practice prevalent among the Sabarās of Madras. Regarding this latter practice, Crooke has remarked, "In Madras the tribal beliefs are of a more primitive kind. In the Vizagapatam district they worship Jukarā or Loddlū, the latter being sometimes a generic term for the gods in a body, who have no regular temples, but are symbolised by a stone placed under a tree." (*Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, II, p. 214, 1920). From this it may be concluded that the procedure of the human sacrifice performed by Pita Sabar is of a more primitive nature than that described in *Samarāśica Kahā* though the spirit is the same in both cases.

C. C. DAS GUPTA.

Fine Arts Seminar, University of Calcutta.

West Cornwall Field Club; Archaeological Exhibition.

16 **THE** Science Museum, South Kensington, is exhibiting during the winter a small collection of obsolete farm implements from the Land's End area, such as wooden ploughs. They have been collected by the President of the Club, Lt.-Colonel F. J. Hirst. It is hoped that an exhibition of smaller objects of the same class will follow later.



STONE IMPLEMENTS PRESUMABLY USED AS
AMULETS IN SPAIN.

(Scale : three-quarter size)

MAN

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Folklore

With Plate B.

Hildburgh

STONE IMPLEMENTS PRESUMABLY USED AS AMULETS IN SPAIN. By W. L. Hildburgh, Ph.D.,
D.Lit.

17 Records of the employment of prehistoric stone implements, for preservative or for curative purposes, have been derived from many widely separated parts of the world, and from ancient times to the present day.¹ In most of those records such employment is associated with a belief—which is in some localities known to be a very ancient one—that stone implements encountered in or on the ground are the solid portions of lightning which has struck the spots where they are found.² The belief appears in connexion with both thick implements (axes, adzes, hammers, etc.) and thin-bladed ones (arrow- or spear-points, knives, etc.), as well as with certain fossils and certain minerals. The present note is concerned only with a number of celts, or celt-like forms, which over a period of about ten years were bought casually, in several different parts of Spain, in circumstances which seem to indicate (with possibly one exception) strongly that they are of Spanish origin.³

The objects (Figs. 1-11) were all purchased in small shops dealing in cheap second-hand jewellery, etc., or in rag-fairs, in most instances without any accompanying information of value; such information as was, occasionally, obtainable was merely to the effect that the object was (as was obvious from its appearance) 'an amulet,' or 'a stone implement,' excepting (and in that case there is some doubt as to its truth) with respect to the large celt (Fig. 1) described below.

Without, in each individual case, more precise information concerning these objects it would be unsafe to attempt to do more than in a general way to presume the purposes for which they have been used in recent times. It is indeed true that in Spain prehistoric stone implements have long been looked upon as 'thunderbolts,'⁴ wherefore it seems reasonable to suppose that they have also been employed as amulets, founded on 'thunderbolt' beliefs, for much the same purposes as in, say, Italy,⁵ the Latin basis of whose culture so closely parallels that of Spain; but whether such purposes,

¹ Extensive compilations of material concerned with such matters may be consulted: C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*, Cambridge, 1911; H. Balfour, *Concerning Thunderbolts* in 'Folk-Lore,' xl (1929), pp. 31-49 and 168-172; and P. Saintyves (pseudonym of E. Nourry), *Le Folklore des outils préhistoriques et des pierres de foudre* ('Corpus de Folklore Préhistorique,' II, i.), Paris, 1934.

² A large and comprehensive collection of objects illustrating this belief is preserved in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

³ In this connexion there may profitably be recalled the curious group of objects, attributed to about the middle of the seventeenth century and to Eastern Catalonia, made of silk and in forms reproducing (or at least strongly recalling) those of prehistoric stone imple-

ments, recorded by Balfour (l.c., figs. 20-22 and p. 172); cf. also note 16.

⁴ Cf. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements, etc.* (1897), p. 58; F. Quiroga, *Sobre el jade y las lachas que llevan este nombre en España*, in 'Anales de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural,' x (1881), p. 11; Blinkenberg, l.c., pp. 105 seq. (including ancient citations). Curiously, Saintyves (l.c., pp. 233 seq.), although he mentions beliefs concerning 'thunderstones' in Portugal and in the Azores, does not speak of Spanish beliefs.

⁵ G. Bellucci, who collected, mainly in Umbria, a large number of stone implements used as amulets, has published much on their employment in Italy, *Catalogo descrittivo, Amuleti italiani*, Perugia, 1898, and subsequent works dealing with the same material.

or even any particular one of them, was at any time associated with the objects here presented, I am unable to say. There seem to be grounds for thinking that at least some of our group may have been used as amulets primarily because of the special qualities of their materials, rather than because of their special forms, not only for the reason that a considerable number of minerals have been used amuletically in Spain on account of their intrinsic qualities (of general colour, of natural markings, of peculiar constitution, etc.) alone, but also because the celt-forms of some of the objects of the group are now almost unrecognizable. On the other hand, however, the various celt-forms, in at least one case obviously not intended for mechanical use, of the objects suggest very strongly the attribution in Spain of amuletic virtue (or virtues) to objects having the forms of neolithic celts.

Some of the objects lack, as is noted in their respective descriptions *infra*, their cutting-edges. One could suggest, using as bases certain popular beliefs, conceivable (though so far as I know, not authenticated by any actual records) reasons why the cutting-edge of a stone implement used (or to be used) amuletically might have been removed. It seems not unlikely, however, that in most, if not indeed in all, of our present examples of dulled edges—as in the case of many other stone celts⁶ which display no signs of having been used as amulets—the cutting-edge has been rounded off in order to fit the object for use as a tool for smoothing⁷ or for burnishing, because a hardstone celt whose edge has been rounded off indeed makes an admirable tool for such purposes. A hole through a stone celt, presumably bored with ancient tools and for the purpose of permitting the celt to be carried by means of a cord, has often been assumed to indicate that that celt had been utilized as an amulet in prehistoric, or other ancient, times. Considering the eminent suitability, for burnishing bronze, of a hard-stone celt with rounded cutting-edge, I would suggest the possibility that in at least some cases such objects may, merely as tools, have been suspended by cords for convenience in Bronze Age workshops or for portability by Bronze Age warriors.

⁶ Cf. [R. A. Smith] *Antiq. Journ.*, xii (1932), p. 298, on several examples of this from the British Isles. There are many examples, from other localities, in the British Museum.

⁷ Cf. *l.c.*, for reference to an employment of this kind in connexion with the seams of linen or of sails.

I am indebted to Miss J. M. Sweet, of the British Museum (Natural History), for the identifications of the stones in the following list and, where possible, of their localities of origin, as well as for the valuable references to the papers of Calderón and Quiroga.

Fig. 1. Jadeite celt; dark green with a bluish tinge and lighter scale-like irregular small markings; length, 14 cms. The cutting-edge has been ground away to a surface almost flat and curving softly into the two original inclined faces; a perforation, situated about 2 cms. from the small end, has been made by working from one side only, and has one opening distinctly larger than the other. The material appears to be a true jadeite (not a fibrolite⁸), from some as yet unidentified locality. Bought in Madrid, in 1919, accompanied by a statement that the person from whom the vendor had obtained it had said that it had 'come from Mexico.' I think that we have reason to question the accuracy of that attribution, and perhaps to regard it merely as a supposition based on an imperfect knowledge of analogous objects; because, on the one hand, I do not recall Mexican or Central American artifacts made of the same stone, while, on the other hand, there is recorded a jadeite 'wedge' from the prehistoric station at Argecilla, a town of a Province adjoining the Province of Madrid, which seems to have been of a stone⁹ very similar to that of the present object. Calderón, discussing the occurrence of jadeite in Spain¹⁰ and citing all the instances of it which had come to his notice, states that the source of the material of the jadeite prehistoric implements found in Spain—where they are as extremely rare as fibrolite ones are common—is not known. Of the three cited¹¹ by him as recorded by Quiroga, two were, like the present example, perforated; in both these, holes had been drilled from both

⁸ Cf. under fig. 8.

⁹ Its colour was 'greenish, somewhat bluish, with little scales weakly whitish and with irregular, somewhat more bluish veins', cf. C. Arévalo, *Noticia sobre una cuña neolítica de jadeíta procedente de la estación prehistórica de Argecilla (Guadalajara)*, in 'Boletín de la Real Sociedad Española de Historia Natural', v (1905), p. 102. It seems worth observing, as possibly having some bearing on the attribution of our celt to 'Mexico', that there is in Mexico a town named, like the Spanish Province, Guadalajara.

¹⁰ S. Calderón, *Los minerales de España*, ii, (Madrid, 1910), pp. 442 seq.

¹¹ *L.c.*, pp. 12 seq.

sides (and in one, at least, with a pointed instrument); one of them clearly had been adapted for some amuletic purpose (cf. under description of fig. 10).

Fig. 2. Small object, of liver-coloured jasper (for which, although it may indeed be Spanish, no exact parallel for comparison was available), somewhat roughly shaped in a form recalling that of a neolithic celt. Near the top is a small tapered perforation, bored from one side only. The lower edge is diagonal to what presumably was the original longitudinal axis of the object; the middle part of that edge is only very slightly rounded off from a cutting-edge, but from either side of that part the edge becomes almost flat (i.e., perpendicular to the general plane of the object). Bought in Madrid.

Fig. 3. Small object, of moss-agate partly reddish in colour, with a small perforation formed by two tapered holes meeting at an angle to each other. It has the general shape of a thick neolithic celt whose lower portion has been so completely ground away as to leave the bottom, which has been roughly rounded off, extending almost the full thickness of the object. I think that very possibly this object was made originally for use as a burnishing tool, and not as a celt nor as an amulet. Bought in Madrid.

Fig. 4. Small object, of bloodstone (heliotrope), in the form of a neolithic celt whose cutting-edge, now ground almost flat, indicates that the object, as originally made, had the shape of a complete celt. At the top is a small perforation, seemingly slightly tapered, through which passes a modern silver S attached to a chain for suspension. Bought in Madrid.

Fig. 5. Small object, of brown chalcedony, in the form of a neolithic celt, with a perforation at its upper end, mounted in brass for suspension. Bought in Madrid.

Fig. 6. Small object, of yellowish and light brown chalcedony, in the form of a roughly-made neolithic celt with its edge ground away; at the top is a perforation, bored conically from both sides, through which passes a ring for suspension. Said, by vendor, to have been obtained from a Gypsy woman, who spoke of it as an amulet. Bought in Granada.

Fig. 7. Small object, of light brown chalcedony, perforated at the top; the outer wall of the hole has been broken away; mounted in silver as a pendant. The shape of the object

suggests that it may have been made from a small neolithic celt which, after considerable portions of it had been removed, was mounted inverted. Bought in Madrid.

It should be noted that the amuletic use of a celt with its cutting-edge upward (as seems here to be the case) is so rare—there is no example of it among the Pitt-Rivers Museum's very considerable number of celts which have been used as amulets—that if it were not for two clear examples of such inversion from Spain (figs. 8 and 11) we might well doubt its possibility in the present case.

Fig. 8. Small neolithic celt, of fibrolite (mottled white, brown and yellow), mounted, with its cutting-edge upward, in a silver frame for suspension. Bought in San Sebastian.

As noted above (under Fig. 1), Calderón says that fibrolite celts are common in Spain. Quiroga, enumerating celts found in Spain and spoken of as 'jadeite,' observes that most of them are actually made of fibrolite and only a very few really of jadeite¹²; he mentions, also, that some of the Spanish fibrolite celts are very small¹³, between 1 and 2 cms. long.¹⁴

Another object of fibrolite, resembling in shape a small neolithic celt, very similar to the one just described but much worn by the action of water and not mounted in metal, was bought in Madrid; the vendor of this, on being asked if he knew for what purpose it had been made, said that he believed it to have been an amulet.

Fig. 9. Small neolithic celt, about 2.8 cms. long. Bought in Madrid. No mention was made, by the seller of this, of any amuletic virtue associated with it.

Fig. 10. Piece of black and white fibrolite, shaped as a conventionalized heart, polished, and mounted in a silver frame for suspension. Bought in Madrid. Although I have not heard of any inherent preservative or curative virtue

¹² *L.c.*, pp. 6 *seq.* Calderón mentions (p. 329) that a number of Spanish mineralogists have, improperly, called Spanish fibrolite 'jade oriental'.

¹³ It seems possible that these, as well as some similarly small celts which have been found elsewhere than in Spain, may have been made for use primarily as amulets; the occurrence, in various parts of the world, of similarly small objects having the shapes of stone implements (including celts) but obviously made for amuletic purposes or for ornament and not for use as tools, seems to favour this view.

¹⁴ Quiroga, *l.c.*, p. 11.

attributed in Spain to fibrolite, it seems to me possible that the mistaking of fibrolite for jadeite, by Spanish archaeologists, may have been due to a popular misnaming of the mineral perhaps associated with an ascription to it of some certain curative virtue; in this connexion we may recall that the word 'jade' derives from the Spanish *piedra de ijada*,¹⁵ 'colic stone' (i.e., a stone preservative against colic). On the other hand, it seems by no means unlikely that the present object, whose form suggests a desire to associate it with Christianity, has been made from a neolithic celt and primarily with a view to securing such benefits as might be attached to the wearing of a 'thunderbolt'.¹⁶

Fig. 11. Bone pendant, irregularly stained green due to burial with copper; the back is flat and, excepting for a series of small notches, fairly regularly disposed, in the curved edge (and only there), plain; there is a hole, of approximately even section throughout excepting for a slight increase in diameter at each opening, bored transversally near the top. On the front appears, in about half-relief, what seems clearly to be a representation of a celt (perhaps one of bronze), cutting edge upward, carefully executed and at present more polished than the rest of the object; just above this are three dot-in-circle markings. Bought in Madrid.

One's first impression of the object is that it is

¹⁵ This seems, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary's* quotations, generally to have referred to a green stone. 'Jadeite', deriving its name from a likeness, real or fancied, to 'jade', may have been similarly deemed to possess preservative virtues.

¹⁶ There exist analogous Italian adaptations of neolithic implementa.

a phallic amulet, of a type fairly common in the Roman Period, but closer examination appears to indicate that the resemblance is—even though it conceivably may have been intentional—only superficial, not alone because of the obvious absence of any attempt to modify the form of the celt, but also because of the almost regularly circular curve of the lower edge and the series of little notches on the back of that edge.

I have been unable to discover any close parallel for this object among the many representations, intended for protective purposes, of neolithic stone implements or of bronze celts, recorded from a number of various localities. Although the parallelisms are not very close, there may be cited from Spain itself in this connexion an object, found with human remains at Monachil (Province of Granada), seemingly part of a neolithic celt which had been cut transversely, of darkish olive-green jadeite, pierced with two holes independent of each other, on whose convex face had been incised three lines producing a representation of a neolithic axe¹⁷; and the group of silken objects referred to in note 3 *supra*.¹⁸ I think, therefore, that we may very reasonably assume that the present object was made for use as an amulet primarily dependent for its virtues on the celt-form depicted on it, although it may possibly have been given its peculiar shape with a view to imitating in some degree the conformation of certain contemporary Roman phallic amulets.

¹⁷ Quiroga, *l.c.*, p. 12.

¹⁸ The group, consisting of seven objects, is in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford; six of the objects seem to represent stone implements, and the seventh (Balfour's fig. 23) a flat bronze celt.

THE PLACENTA AS TWIN AND GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN JAVA. *By Dr. C. G. Seligman, F.R.S.*

18 Owing to the kindness of my friend Dr. van Stein Callenfels, who obtained reliable informants and acted as interpreter, I was able, in the course of a short visit to his house at Ponorogo, central Java, to collect the following information on a matter that had long interested me.

Everybody, whether man or woman, is regarded as being born with an older brother and a younger brother. The older brother, Kakang Kawah, is the water lost at birth (*liquor amnii*) and the younger brother, Adi Ariari, is the placenta. The Kakang Kawah and the Adi Ariari are

regarded as the two guardian spirits who look after the individual through life, and as such they are called respectively Kaki- among and Nini- among. It is these guardian spirits who are of assistance in the everyday affairs of life (one informant instanced early awaking to catch a train), and it is they who are invoked to help in danger. As an example of the sort of aid that the placental guardian spirit might offer, there was quoted a story of Arjuna's chief wife, who when far advanced in pregnancy was kidnapped by a Rakshasha. She ran away from him, and gave birth to a child in the

jungle; the after-birth changed into a human being, or at least a being with human form, in order to protect her and her child against the Rakshasha.

As soon as the after-birth is born it is washed and cleaned as a baby would be, then put into an earthenware pot with salt, so as to preserve it for a certain time, covered with flowers, and the whole is tied in a white cotton cloth. This is kept in the house for thirty-five days, on a shelf high up, or among the rafters, so that it cannot be insulted by a dog, cat, or man, jumping over or crossing it. On the thirty-fifth day a number of small pieces of paper are taken and covered with characters; any script will do, in fact the more the better, the idea being that by the aid of the guardian spirit, *Adi Ariari*, the lad when he grows up will be able to write in all these characters. The scraps of paper are put in the pot, and the father, in his ceremonial clothes and, if he is an official, with his state umbrella in evidence, takes the pot on his right hip and carries it to the threshold, where it is buried in such a position that the rain from the eaves will drip on it. The placenta of a girl is buried on the left side, that of a boy on the right side, looking from the inside of the house. This account holds for the north coast.

At Ponorogo, in central Java, where my information was obtained, the burial of the placenta takes place immediately. For the first seven nights a small lamp is put on the 'grave,' and as long as the folk live in that house a lamp is burnt there whenever the child is ill. It would thus appear that the burial at the threshold forms a shrine, but on this being put to my informants it was denied; it was pointed out that the guardian spirit accompanied the individual wher-

ever he went, and it was not considered that the burial place of the after-birth constituted a shrine. The earth in which the pot is buried must not be firmed down over it, but must be carefully kept loose; moreover, the pot has a cover which is perforated, so that a bamboo can pass through the hole into the pot, projecting an inch or two from the earth above. It was explained that the guardian spirit was a guardian in much the same sense as a nurse looks after a child.

Where the after-birth is preserved for some time before burial, as in the above account, the stump of the umbilical cord is placed in the pot; where the after-birth is not kept, the stump is buried later at the threshold. Sometimes this is not done, and then, when the child is ill, the stump of the after-birth is immersed in a mixture of tamarind, turmeric and water, which is given to him to drink after the stump has been taken out.

Sometimes on the north coast, where there is much trade, especially overseas, the jar with the placenta, after being kept for thirty-five days, is ceremonially carried to the sea-shore and placed in the sea. It was explained that whereas in country districts the burial of the placenta kept the child at home, carrying it to the sea would help the child to become a great overseas trader, or, in the event of the placenta belonging to a girl, to marry well out of her village.

The sarong worn during the birth and which has been soiled by the *liquor amnii* is carefully kept and not worn again. It is washed, cleaned and put away, and when the child is sick it is used as a coverlet. It is known as *kaikopokan*, literally 'the dirty cloth.'

Finally, there was a strict injunction not to step on the threshold.

THE MICROLITHIC INDUSTRIES OF INDIA. By Lieut.-Colonel D. H. Gordon, D.S.O., O.B.E.

19 A study of the accompanying list of microlithic sites in India shows that, so far as our knowledge stands at the moment, the industries stretch from Sind on the west to Orissa on the east, and from Mirzapur on the north to Cuddapah on the south. It is unlikely that these industries are all contemporary, or even in some cases in any way connected. The Indus valley ribbon flake and large core industry is quite separate, and the thick coarse flakes of Bolari Hill, Kotri, etc. are of a type not found elsewhere;

many have little appearance of being artifacts at all, but they are so worn or rolled that it is difficult to judge them.

The area of the Mahadeo Hills and Jubbulpore presents an industry homogeneous in type and material. That covered by the Franks collection in the British Museum, Bundle kund and Baghel kund, coinciding to a great extent with the discoveries in the Mirzapur and Banda Districts, including the rock shelters of the Kaimur and the River Son, almost certainly contains an

A TABLE OF MICROLITHIC SITES IN INDIA.

Sites.	Remarks.	Sites.	Remarks.
WESTERN INDIA.		BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.	
<i>Sind.—Karachi District.</i> Jungshahi Hill. Tarro Hill.	Flakes and few flake blades. Typical Indus Valley ribbon flakes, few retouched.	Jambha, Kandesh; Bandra District; Sanjan, Thana District, Dhar- amta, Colaba District; Panvel, Colaba District; Kandala, Kirkee, Poona, Wadgaon, Poona Dis- trict; Ghotwade, Poona District; Ahmदनगर District.	Specimens so far available from the sites are few and poor. Mostly flakes chips and a few cores of chert, chalcedony and agate. The five specimens from Sanjan are of crystal quartz.
Vejl Bathi, Bolari Hill and Chota Pauri.	Coarse thick flakes, some slightly worked, glossy patina.	HYDERABAD STATE.	
Kotri Settlements Nos. I & II.	Thick clumsy flakes or chips much worn (rolled?), difficult to judge in a museum case, but do not look convincing.	Ellora.	Good retouched opaline chalcedony flake blades, and points and flakes of green plasma.
Majumdar (see <i>A.S.I.R.</i> , 1929-30, p. 112) does not seem to regard as arti- facts.		Ajanta.	Similar but not so good.
<i>Sind.—Hyderabad District.</i> Ganjar Takar and Jhermuk.	Flakes, flake blades, points, and chips.	Aurangabad.	Similar but not so good.
<i>Sind.—Indus Valley.</i> Near Rohri and Sukkur.	Large chert cores six inches by two and a half. Long ribbon flakes identical with Mohenjodaro speci- mens.	Banks of the Godavari.	Cammiade, Richards and Burkitt.
<i>Island of Kutch.</i>	Flakes of opaline chalce- dony, one normal point retouched both sides.	<i>Raichur District.</i> Alisandi Hill, Rawalkonda Hill, Kotegallu, and An- andagal.	Flakes of chert, chalcedony and agate.
<i>Kathiawar. Vicinity of Am reli.</i> Ambaldi Hill, Akkadia Mote, Babapur, Sama- dhiala and Umria.	Two flakes of individual style with chips struck off laterally on each side of the raised dorsal line. Flakes, scrapers and cores of chert, agate, chalcedony, quartz, and bloodstone.	CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
<i>Gujarat.—North of Ahmed- abad.</i> Hirapur plateau near Derol, Dungarva Hill and Mul- san Hill, S.E. of Baroda City.	Chert flakes.	Narbada River gravels.	Few flakes, no sites men- tioned.
Bahadurpur, basin of Or- sang R., Amroli, Jalam- pur, Sigam, North bank of Keran R. Bardoli.	Flakes, points and cores, of chert, agate, and chal- cedony.	Hoshangabad, Pachmarhi, Tania and all Mahadeo Hills shelters.	Great variety of re- touched blades, points, scrapers and cores of chert, chalcedony, opaque opal, etc.
River Watrak near Barria and Bardoli Hill.	Flakes, scrapers and cores of chert, agate, chalce- dony and crystal quartz.	Jubbulpore.	No definite sites, flakes and cores of same style and material as those of the Mahadeo Hills.
Bundlekund and Baghel- kund.	Great variety of retouched blades, points and scra- pers of chalcedony (most- ly) and chert.	Nagpur (2 miles W. of Nagpur City).	Flakes, some retouched and cores of chert and chal- cedony.
Mirzapur and Banda, and the rock shelters of the Kaimur Range.	Associated with the above.	Singhanpur and Kabra Pahar, Raigarh State.	As for Nagpur.
BIHAR AND ORISSA.		CENTRAL INDIA AND UNITED PROVINCES.	
Ranchi—Singbhum—Dhal- bhum area.	Flakes, a few retouched and cores.	Jhansi.	Flakes.
Sites—Ranchi, Chakradar- pur, Serai Kela, Chai- bass, Ghatsila.		MADRAS.	
		<i>Anantpur District.</i> Vidapanakalla Fort Hill, Velpumadugu Hill, Hav- aligi Hill (near Gooty), Bogasamudram, Muchu- kota (Factory Site), Jam- buddin Hill.	Flakes, flake knives, scra- pers and cores of chert, chalcedony, agate and quartzite.
		<i>Cuddapah District.</i> Vemala (Factory site).	Large number of chert cores, few flakes.
		<i>Kurnool District.</i> Patpad.	Great variety of retouched blades, and scrapers, also cores of chert and agate.

extension of the same culture. The shelters at Singhanpur and Kabra Pahar in Raigarh State also appear to be associated with an industry very similar in type and material.

This Central Indian industry displays a wide range of types including crescents, triangles, trapezes (very rare), crescentic blades, straight blades (pointed and unpointed), disc-scrappers and end-scrappers, worked points, borers, and cores. Unworked flakes and chips are in abundance in localities that were factory sites. One true arrow head can be claimed; other points also have been found with signs of being worked to form a tang. Association with rock shelters containing paintings none of which is likely to antedate 500 B.C. at the earliest, and also with pottery in the shelter floors suggests that in these remote and difficultly traversed regions a microlithic culture may have persisted into the early centuries of our own era.

The Pachmarhi Plateau has, in addition to the sources of supply in neighbouring rock shelters, three factory sites and a number of minor shelters, which, together with the factory site at Tamia and Cave 1 at Adamgarh Quarry Hoshangabad, have furnished the bulk of the many hundreds of artifacts I have collected in the Mahadeo Hills.

The industry at Singhanpur is of the same microlithic type, the flakes being scattered over a fairly large area close outside, on the north of, Singhanpur village. It was here on the present village site that these stone workers lived, and it is possible that it has been occupied ever since. Here and at the rock shelter of Kabra Pahar, the material gathered shows quite conclusively that the local stone culture is a microlithic one of retouched blades and crescents, small borers and graters, flake blades and points, and small cores; these are of chert, chalcedony and quartz.

Of the microlithic finds in northern Hyderabad State the flaking site at Ellora is notable both by reason of its location, in close proximity with the famous caves, and the attractive appearance of the flakes of translucent chalcedony (figs. 1-18). This site was discovered by Mr. K. de B. Codrington in May 1932; I happened to be with him at the time, and again visited the site with my wife in December 1933. On the two spurs I had noted the previous year, we found a large number of well struck and worked flaked-blades mostly of

translucent opaline chalcedony. They were on the steep sides of the spurs, sometimes lying on the surface of little level shelves, sometimes embedded in the ground.

The microliths from the Bombay Presidency area are scanty, those on my list are chiefly in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, most of these and some from Sind being in the Carter collection. Micro-cores at Ghotwada near Poona took the fancy of someone, who collected ten, and two flakes; these are in the British Museum. Those from southern Hyderabad round Raichur and from Madras are in the Bruce Foote Collection in the Madras Government Museum; they include retouched crescents and crescentic blades, pointed blades, and disc- and end-scrappers, but no triangles or trapezes.

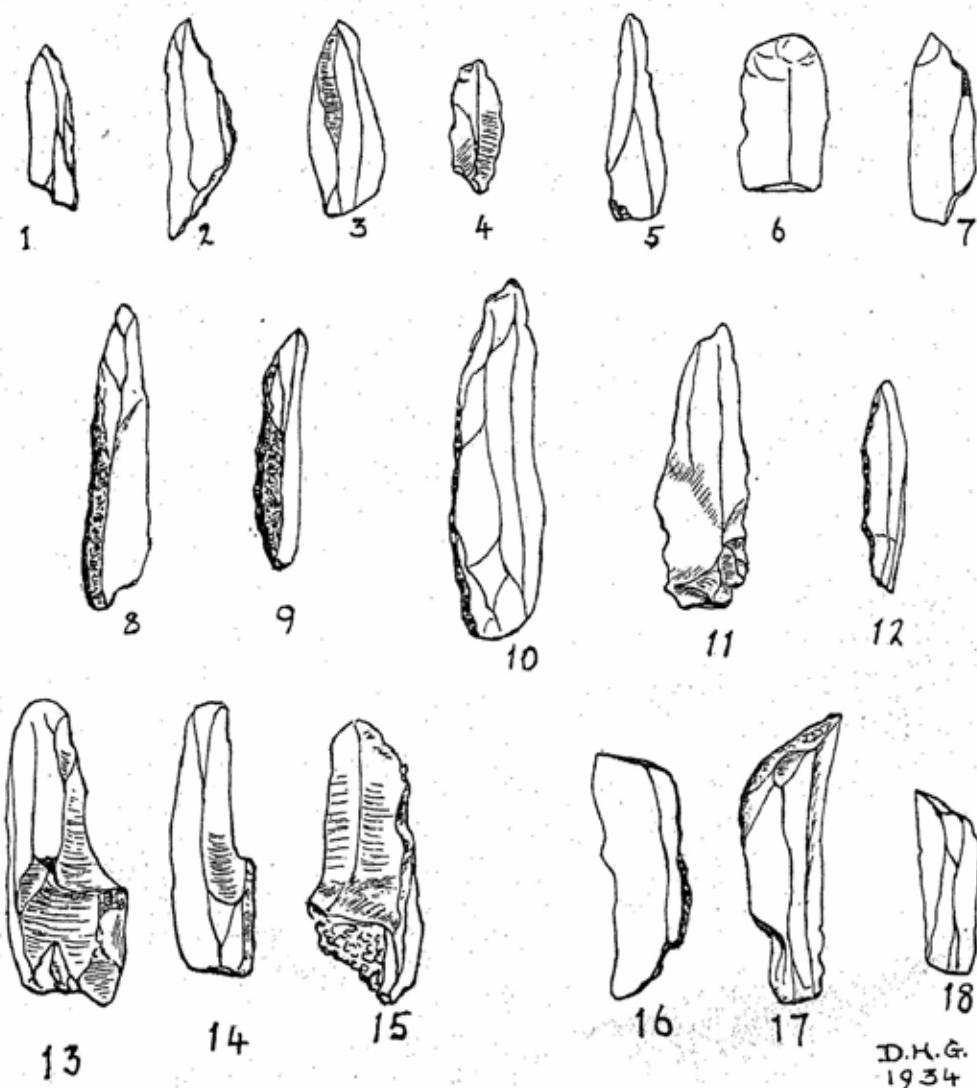
The Punjab has, so far as I can ascertain, produced no microliths, but in the North West Frontier Province I believe I have found a site at a large cave shelter near Jamal Garhi, Mardan Tehsil. The material employed is a coarse grained white quartz but more investigation will be necessary before the industry can be recognised as being properly established.¹

In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, there are some chips from Rasgyl Kashmir, but they are few and quite unconvincing as genuine artifacts. I intend however to investigate the cave area at Bhumju and the cherty beds near Mandakpal in Kashmir, and hope to find traces, if this culture existed in these parts.

The microlithic nature of these industries is, I believe, compulsory, owing to the small size of the stone available, and therefore it is unsafe to go far as yet in the matter of equation with similar cultures in the West. There are indications also that even in these enlightened days there are some who regard microliths as the work of pygmies; the coiner of the expression "Pygmy flints" has a lot to answer for, even "Indo-Capsian" could do less harm.

Any association with the Vindhya which might produce the type name "Vindhyan" is to be strenuously resisted. The Vindhya Range is from Mhow on the West to Saugor on the East with a slight overlapping at each end, and none of the sites in my list comes within this area.

¹ Samples has been confirmed by Mr. M. C. Burkitt as definitely indicating a microlithic site.



POINTS, RETOUCHE BLADES, AND FLAKES OF CHALCEDONY FROM ELLORA (natural size).

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Anthropology and the Dying Australian Aborigines.

20 *Summary of a Communication presented by W. E. H. Stanner, M.A. 11 January, 1938.* The year 1937 has been extremely important for the development of native policy and administrative methods in Australia. The pressure brought to bear upon Governments for a number of years has led to the announcement of decisions to provide for the better protection and care of the aborigines. The Federal Government, in a policy speech of the Prime Minister and in a programme of legislation announced after the Federal Election in October,

has committed itself to some general promises, and in two of the States the movements for reform have been implemented.

The contribution which social anthropology will be invited or permitted to make to the new policy and methods has not yet been made clear, and may apparently be severely limited. There is evidence of strong resistance to incorporating in the reforms, the techniques, safeguards, and objectives which are urged by some anthropologists as necessary if the reforms are to be adequate in scale, range and method. To some extent anthropologists them-

selves may be responsible for this situation, for the reputation of social anthropology as a disinterested social science is not yet established in Australia. It seems probable that the nominal contribution of anthropology to the present attempt to improve the aborigines' position will be small, although it is potentially very great.

The reforms which, on present statements, seem to be contemplated, appear to most anthropologists to be insufficient in scale and inadequate in conception. They are thus in some danger of being abortive. If they fail at this time the strength of the present reform movement may be exhausted, and a relapse into *laissez faire* for a considerable time is more than probable. The services of anthropologists might be used to map out a more strategic attack on a problem whose complexity is not realized outside scientific circles. A number of positive steps could be recommended immediately, such as a tribal survey to locate and register tribes according to their district, cultural condition, and immediate needs; the plotting of natural administrative areas with reference to the need for decentralization, the logic of geography, and underlying cultural resemblances; the detection and control of population "drifts" which are now taking place, and an investigation by experts of areas where anthropologists have detected variations, deficiencies, and poor administration of native food supplies. When these and other immediate steps were taken (steps which do not seem to be contemplated in the reforms as outlined at present) a long-range policy could be prepared on the basis of information gathered by anthropologists over many years, but not yet in the possession of the authorities in any systematic form.

A noteworthy deficiency in the basis of the new policy which anthropology could remedy is that no attempt seems to have been made to assess the reasons for past failure. The fact of failure is not wholly admitted, though it is so clear to the scientist. The services of anthropology seem to be needed if these insufficiently realized influences, which have been so destructive in the past, are not to endanger the constructive work of future administrations.

The Head-hunting Ceremonies of the Konyak Nagas of Assam. Summary of a Communication by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Ph.D. 25 January, 1938.

While carrying out anthropological field-work among the Konyak Nagas of Assam in 1936 and 1937 the lecturer had the opportunity of joining a British expedition under Mr. J. P. Mills into the un-administered area on the Assam-Burma frontier. In the course of that expedition a hostile village of the Kalyo Kengyu Nagas was occupied and subsequently burnt. Numerous human heads, newly captured, were hanging from the head-tree of the village, and Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf was able to remove some of them and bring them back with him to the Konyak country.

When the Konyaks of the villages in which he had lived heard that he had returned with human heads from his tour they implored him to hand over

these trophies, so that they once more might hold the head-hunting ceremonies. It is irrelevant who brings a head to a village; the magical force emanating from it in any case benefits the village and increases the fertility of the crops. Moreover, all the boys and men who take part in the feasts and the ceremonies connected with the bringing-in of a head, acquire the right to wear the full dress of warriors.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf's reluctance to part with his specimens was soon overcome by the conviction that in surrendering them he would gain the unique and perhaps the last chance of witnessing the full ceremonial of a head-hunting tribe, doomed before long to lose its warlike habits.

The lecturer described these ceremonies as they were performed by several Konyak villages. In all of them the head was fed with rice-beer at the village-gate, and a spell was spoken, by which it is believed the relatives of the dead man were compelled, in the same way, to fall victims to the men of the village.

Head-hunting has definitely a stimulating effect on the economic life of a Naga community. The resulting feasts call for large quantities of extra food, which has to be procured by trade, and the ceremonial dress and the ornaments proper to the men taking part must be either bartered or made for the occasion. Throughout the whole year in which a head has been brought in, the men and boys are privileged to sing and dance when they go to their fields, while in other years they must work in silence.

Standing Committee on Applied Anthropology. 22 Discussion on Higher Education in East Africa. 26 November, 1937.

Dr. W. H. McLean, a member of the commission which recently visited East Africa to make recommendations for the development of higher education for natives, opened a discussion on the anthropological implications of the commission's report. Dr. McLean drew attention to the tendency now apparent to base colonial development upon long-term plans in which social and economic programmes were co-ordinated. Community education as defined in the memorandum on the subject issued by the Colonial Office (Colonial 103, 1935) was concerned primarily with improvements in agriculture and public health. Under the former head, attention would be directed to methods of cultivation and animal husbandry and to the conservation of the soil; the latter involved raising the standards of housing, sanitation, hygiene generally and nutrition. These aims would be pursued by the co-operation of the departments concerned, through the agency of agricultural demonstrators and health workers, and this planned development would be the background for the education to be provided at the Higher College which the report envisages. Anthropologists could assist in this development, especially in the more backward areas, by throwing light on habits and prejudices which might present obstacles to programmes of economic development, or attempts to

improve cultivation, raise the standard of public health or extend the range of native diet. Among points in the report of particular interest to anthropologists Dr. McLean mentioned the recommendation that education should at all times be directed towards the creation of a spirit of citizenship.

In discussion it was suggested that the citizenship envisaged in the report was concerned primarily with those loyalties which modern institutions demand, while the standards of respect for obligation implicit in the native system required further consideration; there might be some value in basing the teaching of 'civics' upon these standards, and this could be done if suitable instruction, based on anthropological research, was given to teachers in training. Such research might also indicate the persons who held key positions in the community and whose influence it would be important to enlist on the side of projected reforms. The training to be given to future leaders was discussed, and it was pointed out that in some tribes a chief's sons obtain their knowledge of native law by attendance at their father's court and by listening to his comments on the cases tried—a form of training which it might be advantageous to maintain if possible. The importance, when carrying out programmes of village improvement through boy scout or similar organizations, of directing these to ends for which no traditional provision existed, was also mentioned.

23 *Rock Paintings in Southern Rhodesia. Communicated by F. Posselt, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Plumtree, S. Rhodesia, 27 August, 1937.*

(1) I forward herewith a copy of the Southern Rhodesian Act for the preservation of ancient and other monuments.

(2) With regard to the rock paintings (generally called 'Bushmen paintings'), I have interested myself in these for many years past. As you probably know, there are very many of these paintings in S. Rhodesia, particularly in Central Mashonaland and Southwest Matabeleland, where excellent specimens may be found. In Mashonaland the art appears to have developed to its zenith.

From personal observation and inquiry, it appears that many of the paintings are now largely fading; many have become almost obliterated, due also to other causes.

In this Colony nearly all the paintings are on granite and liable to flake rather rapidly—unlike most of those in the Union of South Africa which are on sandstone.

Human wanton action in S. Rhodesia has been the cause of not a few of these paintings being destroyed—being used as targets for rifle or revolver shots. Stock frequenting the caves and shelters also often damage them by rubbing against the rocks. Some of the paintings become obliterated by coney urine flowing over them and depositing a white sediment.

But one of the principal causes of damage is the result of 'veld fires'; owing to the herbage growing right up to the caves or shelters becoming

alight, and the heat flaking the rock. I have observed large boulders being 'peeled' through one large grass fire—the rock flaking completely over its entire surface to the depth of $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

I am unable to advance any reasons for the 'fading' of the paintings in the deeper and well protected caves. I am wondering whether a process of reviving the colours, with a varnish coating as a protection, is possible.

Southern Rhodesia: Monuments and Relics Act, 1936.

24 The new Act, for the text of which the Institute is indebted to its Local Correspondent, Mr. F. Posselt, repeals *Ordinances No. 9 of 1902 and No. 15 of 1912 and the Victoria Falls Reserve Preservation Act (No. 5), 1928*; defines 'ancient monument' as "any building, ruin, remaining portion of building or ruin, stone circle, altar, pillar, statue, tumulus, grave, cave, rock shelter, midden, shell mound, or other site or thing of a similar kind, which is known or believed to have been erected, constructed, or used by bushmen or other aboriginal inhabitants of the colony or by any people who visited the colony before the first day of January 1890, but does not include any ancient working." An 'ancient working' means "any shaft, cutting, tunnel or stope which was made for mining purposes and was in existence prior to the first day of January, 1890." 'Monument' includes "any ancient monument, area of land of archaeological or historical interest, or contains objects of such interest"; or "has distinctive or beautiful scenery or a distinctive geological formation" or "contains rare or distinctive or beautiful flora or fauna"; also "any waterfall, grotto, avenue of trees, old tree, or old building," and "any other object (whether natural or constructed by man) of aesthetic, archaeological, or scientific value or interest." Such 'monuments' may be proclaimed 'national monuments' by the Minister of Internal Affairs. 'Relics' are similarly defined, and include both fossils, any "drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph . . . or implement or ornament of archaeological, historical or scientific value . . . and any anthropological or archaeological contents of any ancient monument or ancient working."

There will be a 'Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics' of not less than seven members, supported by the Minister, without remuneration, but entitled to reasonable expenses for travelling and subsistence. The Commission will administer grants, donations, fees and subscriptions; may employ and pay a secretary and other servants; make a list of monuments, recommend for proclamation in 'national monuments,' investigate their ownership, purchase monuments on relics, control them at the request of the owner, preserve and repair, lend or give to public institutions, excavate and conserve, inspect, report upon, and register such monuments, and commemorate historical events by tablets.

Discoverers of ancient monuments or relics, and owners of the find-spots, must inform the commission, which have the right of option to acquire them; the Trustees of the South African Museum at Cape Town appointing assessors if necessary. The right of option lapses after six months. Without the Commission's leave, no monument or relic may be excavated, altered or removed. The Minister may make regulations, and the Commission by-laws,

under the Act, and impose fines; and penalties prescribed for offences against its provisions.

A copy of this Act has been deposited in the Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Southern Rhodesia is to be congratulated on so comprehensive and reasonable a measure, and the Commission has the good wishes of all who care for places and objects of natural beauty or scientific or human interest.

JOHN L. MYRES.

REVIEWS.

OCEANIA.

We, the Tikopia. By Raymond Firth, D.Sc. London: Allen & Unwin, 1936.

25 In this substantial volume Dr. Firth presents a first instalment of the fruits of work undertaken eight years ago in a western and provincial outpost of Polynesian culture. The delineation of social relations arising from the recognition of kinship is both the focus of attention and the avenue of approach in his studies of Tikopian family life, economic activity, initiation and marriage, and he is particularly concerned to make clear not only the attitudes and practices which are the norms of conduct but the practical limitations, anomalies and conflicts of obligations which inevitably arise.

In Tikopia the relative weight of propinquity and kinship is of particular interest since there is great territorial dispersion and interdigitation of the houses and land holdings of kin groups. The 200 households of Tikopia are scattered in 25 hamlets and, although some hamlets are dominated by leaders of one of the four major unilateral kin groups, apparently few are exclusively occupied by members of a single subgroup or lineage. The inherited ownership of dwelling sites by families of different groups sometimes leads to friction and disunion in the settlement. On the other hand Dr. Firth finds that personal ties resulting from inter-marriage between such families of different 'clans' can equally outweigh the 'clan' disunity and produce a degree of economic and social co-operation which may in everyday affairs be superior to the product of formal 'clan' unity. So far as the hamlets are concerned Dr. Firth concludes that "In actual practice it is very difficult to evaluate the relative strength of the ties of kinship and propinquity" and one regrets that the possible tests referred to for estimating the power of residential proximity as against that of kinship were not employed in this connexion. He is however quite definite when speaking of the two residential districts into which the island falls—"The strength of the tie that binds the members of each district together lies in their common residence . . . it overpowers the ordinary bond of clan membership and even that of family kinship unless this be very close." Apparently, although it is not stressed, the converse is also true and there may be as much or more suspicion and distrust between fellow 'clan' members of distant hamlets as between fellow villagers of different 'clans.' It appears from the conclusion of this section that conflicting ties of kinship and residence would split these thousand Oceanians into many hostile groups but for the cohesive power of the ceremonial life and the political authority of the chiefs.

The Tikopian household is frequently wider than the biological family since fathers and married sons may share a single house, adult bachelors may live with elder married brothers, and quasi-adoption of infant

kin is common. But Dr. Firth did not find that these circumstances substantially modified conduct between kinsfolk. The individual family of parents and children remain a clear structural unit, irrespective of the precise composition of the household. Towards other kin, on the other hand, and in surprising contrast to the effects of propinquity posited elsewhere, "the socially approved norm of behaviour is affected little by difference in residential situation since contact with other kin outside the home circle is so frequent," and he observed no "perceptible difference in the behaviour of boys towards resident and non-resident kin except in the case of actual parents."

Dr. Firth complains of a common neglect of personal relations within the family by other workers in the Polynesian field, but he admits that in Tikopia these ties and obligations neither receive nor require explicit formulation by the people themselves and he is himself forced to give "concrete detail about small points of behaviour." Dr. Firth succeeds here with vivid portrayals of personality but little significant generalization is, or apparently can be, reached.

In dealing with the relations of individuals to their more remote kin what may be termed the range and intensity of kin relations among a people with a classificatory nomenclature is of considerable interest. Despite his general emphasis on gradations of intensity related to the degree of consanguinity and propinquity Firth states that "as far as codified obligations (rules of respect, obedience and tapu) are concerned it is difficult to see any difference between the way in which a boy treats his own father and that in which he treats his father's brothers," but this appears to be contradicted by his own material as, for example, the series of progressively lighter funerary obligations performed by real sons, true brother's sons and classificatory sons. It would have been of great value to have had some estimate of the relative force of emotional and conventional drives underlying the more intense formal behaviour. Does the real son, who at his father's obsequies remains in seclusion for many weeks observing stringent food taboos and refrains from dancing for a still longer time, regard these obligations as appropriate and psychologically necessary concomitants of his personal grief, as Dr. Firth appears to suggest, or is his eye also on the wider community of kinsmen who expect this behaviour on his part? The same gradations of relationship are found with regard to the mother's kin, and particularly the mother's brothers who give ritual services at initiation and death, make formal gifts and afford protection in case of need.

The complementary relations with fathers' sisters and their children are, as so widely in Polynesia marked by a particular deference which is buttressed by fear of supernatural vengeance of the father's sister after death. Firth regards this relation as but one mani-

festation of a tendency expressed in different ways in various parts of Oceania, which gives increased security to a woman after marriage, and like the special duties of the mother's brother conserves the ties of children with the group from which the mother came; "the function of these sets of obligations is to enforce on the descendants on the male side an attitude of assistance and protection towards the children of the women of their house" as against the general patrilineal bias of residence, succession and inheritance. But essentially relevant here is not only the very general assumption that "social well being is served by the creation and maintenance of kinship ties" but recognition of the need for some formulated decision in what would otherwise be an ambiguous situation likely to result in serious friction. The question of the relative rights and status of brothers and sisters children is one which every society must meet. The Tikopia solution is apparently to restrict rights and obligations with respect to matrilineal kin to relatives of the generation of ego and his immediate ascendants and descendants and to exclude inheritance and succession from those rights.

In this connexion it is difficult to see the basis for the claim that the fact that "restrained" relationships between children whose parents are reciprocally their mother's brother and father's sister are not continued by grandchildren of similar sex "is a balanced application of a principle, the imposition of a stress and the correction for it." This characterization would appear to apply more aptly to the mother's brother and father's sister relationships themselves while the practice referred to is to be connected more plausibly with the fact that grandchildren have acquired a series of mother's brothers real and classificatory unrelated to those of their parents so that the perpetuation of constraint between remote collaterals is unnecessary.

Firth accepts and illustrates very fully from Tikopia "the general proposition that kinship terminology is a correlate of social function though not necessarily always a perfect reflection of it," and one would have welcomed a consideration of linguistic or other factors in connexion with its imperfections in this respect, e.g., such features as the socially anomalous use of a single term both for siblings of the same sex and for relatives in law of opposite sex.

In the analysis of the nature and use of kinship terminology and application it is clearly shown that the wide reference of classificatory terms not only implies no confusion between near and distant kin but that a series of supplementary terms are used by which the degree of propinquity may be clearly expressed. Among the several terminological relationships in which two individuals may stand with one another there is selection of the most appropriate term on the basis of comparative age and status while remote classificatory relations between 'fathers' and 'daughters' etc., are no bar to marriage.

There is a short but penetrating review of the outstanding features and regional differences in Polynesian systems of kinship terminology. Here Firth justifies scepticism for Buck's view that the use in east and central Polynesia of distinct seniority terms between siblings of the same sex but not between siblings of opposite sex is a device to exclude female challenge to succession by seniority on the ground that terminology alone could contribute little to the support of a privilege already so strongly buttressed. He does not however point to the more likely alternative that this deep-seated differentiation between men and women renders superfluous the adoption of seniority distinctions between male and female siblings.

The patrilineal lineage, called by the Tikopians a 'house', through membership of which an individual acquires rights to a house site, a share in land, and economic and ritual aid, is of fundamental importance in determining the wealth and rank of individuals. It is not, however, a residential unit and is physically united only on major ceremonial occasions. Solid corporate rights and ritual prerogatives give coherence and longevity but the inevitable processes of fission, semi-detachment, extinction and recombination by 'grafting' which take place are fully illustrated. An account of the effective strength of a representative series of houses with their relative strength in lands and ceremonial prestige would have been most useful, for an understanding of these processes. The 'houses' while differing little in wealth are sharply graded in the ritual privileges of their heads and thereby in ceremonial rank and social position. Moreover the chiefs who are the heads of their own houses are said in another context to have a relative superiority in food resources "as exemplified by their greater command of territory." It is not made clear whether the 'house' is in practice exogamous but the four aggregations of 'houses' which are referred to as "anomalous clans" are neither formally or in practice exogamous groups. There is considerable 'clan' esprit de corps but the argument that the "very fact of clan individuality has given rise to mechanisms to bring the clans together," i.e., "interplay of ritual and economic obligations between the clans" appears to be somewhat circular.

In a useful conclusion to this section of the book Dr. Firth gives a brief critical review of the nature and varieties of kinship groupings. The differences between the groups generally distinguished as clan (and/or gens or sib) and lineage respectively would however seem to be more considerable than he recognizes. Indeed the distinct criteria which are rightly emphasized as significant for these two types of unilateral groups, viz., codification of conduct on the one hand and genealogically traced kinship lead nearly always, as in Tikopia, to groups of very different size of which the lineage is normally a sub-group of the other.

In his account of Tikopia land holding Dr. Firth makes very clear the graduated series of rights ranging with increasing particularity from the prior general claims of a chief over all lands held by 'houses' of his 'clan' down to specific individual rights, established by long occupation, to sections of wider tracts shared among a number of 'house' members. Of particular interest is the concession to parental interest, which has analogies elsewhere, whereby a daughter and her children during her lifetime may be given the use of plots in the paternal land which on her death revert to her brothers and the male line.

In the course of the descriptions of initiation and marriage Dr. Firth tests the adequacy of earlier views in the light of Tikopia institutions. Finally in a general review of 'kinship and social stability' he makes a very moderate claim for what might be called empirical functionalism, making clear in particular that he is concerned with correlations of observed activities and not with interpretations of institutions in terms of theoretical human needs, since "The needs of a human being in society are traditionally dictated and are an inference from his observed activities."

DARYLL FORDE.

Art and Life in New Guinea. By Raymond Firth, M.A., Ph.D. London (The Studio Ltd.) 1936: 126 pp. 88 pls. Price 10s. 6d.

Dr. Firth has produced an instructive and cheap picture book on the art of New Guinea for which

The Studio Ltd. is to be congratulated. The photographs are noteworthy for their excellence and the legends as a rule give all necessary information; in this respect the book differs markedly from Fuhrmann's *Neu-Guinea* (1912). Another book of value for its pictures is *Les arts indigènes en Nouvelle-Guinée* by S. Chauvert (1930). Miss G. A. Reichard in *Melanesian Design*, 1933, gives many illustrations of art-work from New Guinea. Mention should also be made of the picture books: *Decorative Art of New Guinea*, incised designs (1925), and *Carved and Painted Designs from New Guinea*, (1931) by A. B. Lewis; Field Museum, Chicago.

The title of Dr. Frith's book is somewhat too wide for its contents. From Netherlands New Guinea there are shown only a bamboo case and a *korowaar* from Geelvink Bay, two shields from Eilanden River and a bamboo "flute" from Kampong River. The beautiful intricate carving and engraving of Geelvink Bay is ignored. The art of the Sepik is well illustrated but otherwise the art of the Mandated Territory is represented by a Tami mask and drum and by axes from the north coast and Mount Hagen. The Massim district of Papua is abundantly illustrated. The shells, p. 11, appear to be *Nassa*, not *cowry*. The nearer canoe, p. 15, is of local manufacture, the one behind it is a visitor from a village to the east. On p. 18 only the small double canoes of Mailu are referred to, the permanently-rigged *orou* is the best seagoing vessel of Papua. F. E. Williams clearly states that a novice entered into a *kaiemunu* only to assist in making it, which is very different from the statement on p. 25. On p. 26 we read that in adjacent tribes to the east of the Purari Delta a masked figure represents the spirit of a man recently deceased, is this a slip for Torres Straits? Canoe ornaments cut out in the form of birds are characteristic of the Arimoa Islands and Humboldt Bay, but hardly of Geelvink Bay. The wood-carving on the spear thrower, p. 38, is not a mere ornament but functions as a support for the spear. A breakwater of the type shown on p. 48 with human figures is characteristic of the D'Entrecasteaux, as is the end-erection of p. 49, which is placed at right angles to the breakwater. These canoe adjuncts are now the prevailing ones in the Trobriands and occur sporadically where the influence of the D'Entrecasteaux has spread. The breakwater of p. 50 is characteristic of the Louisiades, and Seligman (1910, pl. LXVI) illustrates that of p. 51 as coming from Murua. The end-erection of p. 53 is placed upside down, to the tongue at the top is fastened such a finial, *munkuris*, as that of p. 29. The animal of p. 55 is probably a cuscus. The object of p. 107 is probably the end of the handle of a paddle from the mouth of the Banu. The sketch map of New Guinea in the end papers is a useful addition. The Kampong is a small river that flows into the delta of the Eilanden; that named "Kampong" is really the Digul. The Alice river flows into the upper Fly from the west not from the east. The Vailala is placed too far to the east.

Dr. Firth gives a sane survey of the relation of art to social and ritual life. He makes the happy suggestion that deference to traditional style has not seemed to inhibit the Papuan artist, who, free from the necessity of having to create something novel, can concentrate on the development of variations within the traditional bounds and on the refinement of his technique. He ends by claiming that these art forms set in ancient mould are worthy of analysis and respect, and are full of meaning in the social and religious life of the people who make them.

A. C. HADDON.

Canoes of Oceania. By A. C. Haddon and James Hornell. Vol. I: *Polynesia, Micronesia and Fiji*, by James Hornell. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication No. 27. 454 pp. 312 text figures, 3 maps.

In any study of Pacific Ethnography, and of migrations about the Pacific, canoes, the means of transport from island to island, must play the leading part. The work of Rivers on sociology, of Percy Smith and Foran on genealogies and legends, valuable though it is as providing a quasi-historical background in the absence of a written language with the usual sources of the historian, does not give us a complete picture. It is only by a careful examination of the technical details of the material culture of the region, especially the similarities and dissimilarities of the vessels, in conjunction with sociology and tradition, that we can fill in the gaps in our knowledge of the history of racial movement about Oceania.

Dr. Haddon and Mr. Hornell have applied themselves to this task with great thoroughness and the first result of their labours is Volume I of 'Canoes of Oceania,' dealing with Polynesia, Micronesia and Fiji.

The large canoes of the early voyagers were long dug-out double canoes lashed together. The typical early Polynesian canoe, without exceptional sheer and with both hulls of equal size, was to be found practically everywhere in Eastern Polynesia, and traces of this craft are to be found in the native canoes of the Carolines, a survival perhaps of the canoes of some early voyagers. These sacred vessels, together with certain constructional features, would support the view that the Polynesians reached Hawaii by way of Micronesia, and then directly eastwards from the Marshall Islands. Percy Smith considered this view quite a possible one, and the distribution of weapons edged with sharks' teeth supports it.

But certain interesting developments conditioned by geographical circumstances modified the design and construction of these vessels. In New Zealand enormous trees provided material for dug-outs of sufficient beam to give lateral stability without the aid of a second hull or an outrigger. On the other hand scarcity of timber in the Tuamotus led to the introduction of plank-built boats constructed about a definite keel. The planks were fitted together 'jigsaw' fashion and lashed with sinnet. The type, dignified by the name of *Pahi*, a term also applied to European ships, found its way back to Tahiti and there are accounts of shipwrights imported from the Tuamotus to build them. The rig of the various double-canoes consisted essentially of a triangular spritsail with the apex downward. The sail was either attached directly to the mast and to a curved boom, as in Hawaii and the Marquesas, to mention but two localities, or perhaps attached to a yard slung parallel to the mast in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the gunter lug of some European small craft. But the analogy is not complete, for in a gunter lug part of the luff of the sail is attached to the mast, whereas in the Polynesian rig it is attached to the yard which runs the whole length.

The large double canoes of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji, in which one hull is smaller than the other, may very well be derived in part from Micronesia, for the canoe is handled as if it were a single outrigger vessel, and the smaller hull is kept to windward.

Single outrigger canoes of very simple construction are found in most parts of Eastern Polynesia. The outrigger booms are few (usually two), and attached more or less directly to the float. This is in sharp contrast to the Melanesian craft where as a general rule a great many outrigger booms are employed, and

attached to the float by elaborate bundles of crossed stanchions. The Polynesian single outrigger also differs from that of the Micronesians by being a single-ended boat. The function of the outrigger is that of a counterpoise, and not a buoyancy apparatus. In fact, the float must be kept to windward or when the outrigger is on the lee side it must be counterbalanced by somebody sitting out on the balancing platform.

The Polynesians use the counterpoise to overcome this problem, and the Micronesians keep their outriggers to windward by reversing their boats. This reversing technique should not be regarded as primitive. The canoes in question are perhaps the most specialized sailing craft in the world. In this group we may include the so-called 'flying proas' of the Ladrone Islands, which are alleged to be capable of a speed of some eighteen knots and to be able to steer within three points of the wind. It is likely, as Mr. Hornell believes,

that the large Fijian double canoes were evolved out of or derived from them. It is certainly true that they were sailed in the same way. There is in fact closer relationship between the Micronesian and Melanesian methods of sailing than between either of them and the Polynesian method.

It is obviously impossible in the space available to give a really detailed account of a book of this kind. The author follows the lines of investigation and arrangement adopted by Dr. Peter Buck in his 'Samoan Material Culture.' The illustrations, consisting of photographs of models and of the work of early artists and very well drawn diagrams, numbering as many as 312 in all, are of great value in themselves; and in thoroughness and attention to detail Mr. Hornell is no whit behind Dr. Buck. We may regard this volume as a complete anatomy of Polynesian canoes.

ADRIAN DIGBY.

AFRICA.

Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest- und Südafrika.

28 By Viktor Lebzelter. Leipzig: Karl Hiersemann, 1934. Qto. x + 306 pp., pls. 26, text figures 111. R.M. 64.

The present volume forms the second of 'Rassen und Kulturen in Südafrika,' the result of a visit to South Africa by the late Dr. Lebzelter, from 1926 to 1928.

Dr. Lebzelter treats of the various South-west African tribes, their material culture, customs, mode of dress and so on. His work is not, however, confined to the old German sphere of influence, but overlaps considerably into the Bechuanaland Protectorate, while the last fifty pages cover the Swazi and Zulu peoples.

The first part of this very important work deals with no less than eleven groups of Bushmen or mixed Bush-

men, living in the general Kalahari region from Angola to the Molopo river, and from South-west Africa to the Free State Border. In addition, he discusses the remnants of Bush tribes in Lake Chrissie, Basutoland and the Transkei.

Further chapters describe the Berg Dama, the Herero and the Ambo, while the south-eastern Bantu of Natal and Swaziland receive some mention.

The author is not satisfied with the description of pure native culture, and wisely brings in the results of European contacts on the Bantu, and the effects of Bantu contacts on the Bushmen. The survey is necessarily somewhat superficial, but coming from a man who was primarily a physical anthropologist, this is not unexpected.

A. J. H. GOODWIN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Stools, Spears, Forked Iron Rods, Tridents and Bow-Stands. Cf. MAN, 1932, 147; 1934, 188; 1935, 32, 105, 106.

29 Sir—The relics or insignia of the Ya'qubāb holy men of the Sennar district of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which I have described in my article entitled 'Fung Origins' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, (Vol. XV, pp. 201-250), present more than fortuitous similarities to the tribal heirlooms of the Wabena of Tanganyika and the royal emblems of the Anuak as described respectively by Mr. and Mrs. Culwick (MAN, 1934, 188 and 1935, 105); and Mr. G. L. Elliot Smith (MAN, 1935, 106).

The Ya'qubāb, who live on the west bank of the Blue Nile about lat. 14° N., appear to be descendants of the nearly black people of mixed origin who have inhabited the Gezira for centuries. They owe their present tribal unity to their allegiance to a line of Mohamedan holy men sprung from Bannaga el Darir (d. 1500-1570 A.D.), whose father is said to have come from Dongola and to have been one of the first to preach Islam in this part of the world, although they take their name from Bannaga's son, Ya'qub.

The Ya'qubāb had a special connection with the Fung sultans of Sennar. According to tradition Bannaga's mother was a Sudanese woman who also bore Sandel el 'Aaj, a great man among the Fung. The Ya'qubāb appear in history about the same time as the Fung, in whose kingdom they were the chief local exponents of Islam. This no doubt gave them a peculiar authority in the kingdom, and like other Mohamedan holy men in the Sudan, they did not hesitate to ape the ceremony of the royal court.

There are a number of lines of holy men among the Ya'qubāb to-day, and the living representative of each line is known as the successor (*khalifa*) of the original founder of the line. The stool (*kukur*) is the chief outward sign of the *khalifa*'s authority, and the main feature of the ceremony of his appointment is his being seated on the stool of the holy man, of whom he is to become the *khalifa*. By this act he is considered to become endowed with the virtue and power of the dead saint. After his installation he never sits on the stool again, but it remains in his possession with the other relics. There is some reason to think that these relics were once kept in the grave shrine of the founder, but they are now usually kept in the house of the *khalifa*. They vary in different cases but in addition to the stool nearly always include spears and/or forked iron rods (Arabic: *shaiba*), and possibly also some of the following, the cap or headdress of the founder, his wooden staff, wooden shoes, large rosary, signet ring and a pair of drums.

The Ya'qubāb stools, which are said exactly to resemble the Fung sultan's *kukur*, on which he was enthroned at his accession, are low wooden stools with curved seats, slightly more elaborate than the common Sudanese wooden stool with four legs carved out of a single block of wood, having usually six separate legs, and often a rudimentary head and/or tail. All the Ya'qubāb stools are illustrated in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XV, plates v and vi.

The oldest Ya'qubāb spears (*loc. cit.*, plates iv and xiii) are those of Sheikh Musa Abu Gussa. These are both made throughout of one piece of iron, one being

of the usual bladed type, and the other of the pointed type known in the Sudan as *selatiya* and considered the male spear, while the bladed spear is regarded as the female. The relics of Sheikh Marzûq wad Ya'qub (*loc. cit.*, plate xii) include a *selatiya* with a wooden haft.

Further, in striking parallel to the Wabena 'branched iron stands' and Anuak 'forked spear-rest' are the forked iron rods, of which two form part of the relics of Sheikh Marzûq wad Ya'qub, and several are now with Sheikh Ya'qub wad Hajju. The origin and purpose of these forked iron rods have been forgotten by the Ya'qubâb. They are produced at festivals with the other relics, when they are stuck in the ground fork uppermost (*loc. cit.*, plates v and vii). There is no memory of their having been originally spear-rests, and the fact that where they exist they usually outnumber the spears may argue against that explanation.

What is certain is that in the Ya'qubâb stools, spears, and forked iron rods we have preserved copies of some of the insignia of the Fung sultans. I tried (*loc. cit.*) to indicate some reasons for believing the traditional connexion of the Fung with the Shilluk. The Shilluk, to whom the Anuak may be related, also possess sacred spears and a sacred stool on which the king has to be seated at his accession, when he becomes the living representative of the founder of the tribe.

Spears, both male and female, and a stool, used moreover to form part of the insignia of the sultans of Darfur, and I believe of the sultans of Wadai and Bornu (earlier Kanem) as well.

The iron-hafted spear to-day is typical of the Tuareg; and in the Sudan the Tuareg are, as far as I know, the only people who use the tanged axe, so that the presence among the Wabena relics of a ceremonial axe with a long undulating tang may be evidence of a Hamitic connection. Has the Tuareg word for wooden stool (*kuzûr*) any connection with the name of the Fung stool (*kukur*)? It may be that the spears and the stool as royal insignia were inherited by the Fung from the Hamitic Berbers (Zaghawa), whose descendants appear to have formed most of the dynasties in the Kanem-Wadai-Darfur area between 900 and 1700 A.D., one branch of whom, defeated about 1466 in civil war, are stated in a modern Bornu tradition to have gone East and founded the Fung sultanate. If this tradition is founded on fact, they may have combined with the Shilluk on the White Nile before doing so, and so have given that tribe this peculiar combination of insignia, which they also possess.

Sir Richmond Palmer (MAN, 1932, 47) has drawn attention to the trident-spear known as *mamanangi*, which would appear almost certainly to have some connexion with the forked iron rods or branched iron stands of the Ya'qubâb, Anuak, and Wabena, and which formed the badge of office of the chief nobles in the kingdom of Bornu; and I feel sure he is right in attributing the widespread dispersion of this form of royal insignia to the pre-Arab Berbers or Hamites, one of whose chief gods (or ancestral spirits) seems at an early period to have been worshipped in the form of a spear.

Among the nominally Mohamedan Zaghawa of northern Darfur to-day, some of whose branches have a traditional connection with Bornu, the usual way of administering an oath still is for the man who wishes to swear another to set up two spears propped up against each other at an angle to the ground, and on them to place a pair of pants. Beyond this arch of two spears he thrusts a third spear into the ground, and over the upper end of this spear he puts the loops of a pair of sandals which fall to the ground attached to the spear. In the presence of some elders, the man to be sworn has to crawl under the two spears and pick

up the third spear (leaving the sandals on the ground), touch the blade with his tongue, and then stab the ground with the spear, saying 'May Mani kill me if I swear falsely' (*Mani begigu ekkili* = lit., Mani—he himself—I will die). I have not been able to get the Zaghawa to explain what Mani is except that it is some power that will kill the man who swears falsely by it. This method of administering an oath is known as *ku Mani*, the spear of Mani.

The fact that Mani is here represented by three spears, of which one alone is prominent in the action of the ceremony (? originally a male spear), and two subsidiary (? originally female spears), is probably significant; and I have no doubt that in Mani we have a survival of Aman the god recorded by Sir H. R. Palmer from further west, and—especially in view of Mani's vague mysterious nature—I imagine a connection with Amûn ('the hidden') of Thebes in Ancient Egypt, earlier known as Amâna, is not improbable.

Possibly, on the analogy of the idea current in the Sudan about the relation of the ordinary bladed spear to the pointed *selatiya*, the forked iron rod is in origin the consort of the god represented by the spear. If this were the case, it would be an easy step to combine the two into the more convenient trident, when the outward and visible signs of the god became adopted as the insignia of the divine king. (Have we here, incidentally, the origin of the trident of Poseidon, of whom according to Herodotus (ii. 50) the Greeks learnt from Libya, the home of the Berbers?).

The origin of the insignia would be apt to be forgotten by the black tribes that adopted them. On this theory, the forked iron rods of the Ya'qubâb and Anuak being of spear-length, are presumably nearer the prototype (as is only to be expected since they are nearer the hypothetical centre of diffusion), while those of the Wabena have become foreshortened; and among the Babemba and other tribes in Northern Rhodesia (MAN, 1935, 32), the simple fork or trident has undergone complicated elaboration, an 'improvement' that would come naturally to any negro race that could work iron.

This appears to me to be the probable origin of the Babemba bowstands, for example. Since, as Dr. Richards records, the bow is there the symbol *par excellence* of succession to office, these elaborate stands, which are also definitely regarded as sacred relics handed down to the successors to certain chieftainships or priestly offices, can hardly have been in origin merely stands on which to place the sacred bow. Is it not more probable that they are degenerate forms of the royal trident introduced by some Hamitic conquerors in the past, and converted by the tribe, after their purpose had been forgotten and probably the original tridents themselves had been lost in war or some other catastrophe, into stands for the presumably native insignia, the bow?

El Fasher, Sudan.

A. J. ARKELL.

Bee-Hives in Upper Egypt. (Cf. MAN, 1937, 153).

30 SUE.—Apropos of Mr. Hornell's note (MAN, 1937, 153) on the cylindrical bee-hives which he recently saw and photographed at Luxor, it may be of interest if I put on record that when residing at Thebes during the years 1895, 1896 and 1897, the hive-bee was unknown in Upper Egypt, south of Assiut. The hives which Hornell saw I suspect are of modern importation, and I should be interested to hear whether they belong to an Egyptian or to a foreigner.

In ancient times apiculture appears to have been practised at Thebes, for in the tomb of Rekhmara (Theban Necropolis, Tomb No. 100) is a scene depicting two men engaged in extracting honey-combs from

cylindrical hives; one man holds a bowl with flames rising from it, and is smoking out the bees, while the other removes a comb from the hive with his hands. The meaning of this scene had escaped me when I published it in 1900 in my 'Life of Rekhmara' (pl. xiv, top right-hand scene), but Mr. Norman de Garis Davies tells me that when he was re-copying the paintings a few years ago he saw a figure of a bee beneath the bowl with flames, and his interpretation of the scene as representing bee-hives is confirmed by a somewhat similar one on a wall of the Fifth Dynasty temple of Neuserre at Abusir in Middle Egypt (Klebs, 'Die Reliefs des alten Reiches,' 1915, p. 58). An interesting fact about honey in ancient Egypt is that it is not mentioned in any of the Ritual Lists of Offerings before the Middle Kingdom, and the inference is that honey, in early times, was reserved for the king's use, as it was in Darfur¹ at the beginning of last century, and in Abyssinia² till about seventy-five years ago.

In Cyrenaica, before the Italian occupation, the bees, for which that region has long been famous, were housed in long wooden boxes. In many parts of East Africa bee-hives are hollow cylindrical logs of wood or boxes made of bark, and these may often be seen hanging from the boughs of large shady trees. In Arabia, on the Gebel Masar to the east of Hodeida, hollow cylindrical logs of wood are also employed, and these are piled on top of one another in the same way as those figured by Hornell from Luxor. In Palestine I have seen cylindrical hives of sun-dried mud, as well as of basket-work covered inside and out with a coating of mud and cowdung; these were piled up tier above tier and roofed over with thatch. Cylindrical basket-work hives, I was told by Dr. Schweinfurth, were in use in Eritrea in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the winter of 1890 I remember seeing on the Nile near Abu Korkas in Middle Egypt, a boat laden with well-stocked cylindrical bee-hives, which were being taken out and carried to the bean-fields in the neighbourhood, where they were left for the flowering season; after a few weeks they were brought back to the river, packed again on the boat, and transported northwards to other pasture grounds. By the early summer the boatmen told me, they were returned to their owners, who lived in the Delta. The Delta is, and long has been, the home of bee-keeping in Egypt. Maillet, who resided at Cairo during the last years of the seventeenth century, gives a long account of the practice of moving the hives about the country by boat ('Description de l'Egypte,' 1735, p. 24). Pococke ('Description of the East,' London, 1743, I, p. 210) refers to the same practice. Savary ('Letters on Egypt,' 2nd ed., 1787, II, p. 207), writes thus of the bees of Egypt:—"Upper Egypt," preserving its verdure only four or five months, the flowers and harvests being seen no longer, the people of Lower Egypt profit by the circumstance, assembling on board large boats the bees of different villages. Each proprietor confines his hives, with his own mark, to the boatman; who, when loaded, gently proceeds up river, and stops at every place where he finds verdure and flowers. The bees swarm from their cells at break of day, and collect their nectar, returning several times, loaded with booty, and, in the evening re-enter their hives, without ever mistaking their

"abode. Thus sojourning three months on the Nile, the bees having extracted the perfumes of the orange flowers of the Said, the essence of the roses of the Fayyûm, the sweets of the Arabian jasmine, and of every flower, are brought back to their homes, where they find new riches. Thus do the Egyptians procure delicious honey and plenty of wax. The proprietors pay the boatmen on their return, according to the number of hives which they have taken from one end of Egypt to the other."

In Ptolemaic times bee-hives were transported from place to place in portable hives. Edgar (Cairo Museum, 'Cat. gen. Zenon Papyri,' IV, p. 111, No. 59368) prints a letter from Sostratos to Zenon, dated 26th July, 240 B.C. wherein there is mention of 1,000 bee-hives that were leased to various natives, some in Herakleopolis and some in the Memphite nome; the hives in the Memphite nome, it is said, had lately been transferred to the Herakleopolite nome without permission. Another papyrus in the same series (No. 59487) records that the hives were transported by donkeys. Pliny (*H.N.* xxi, 43) refers to boats being employed in Italy for the transport of bees to new pastures, and the same writer says that in Spain the hives were carried from pasture to pasture on the backs of mules.

Honey is reserved for the king's use in:—

Darfur; W. G. Browne, 'Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the year 1792 to 1799,' London, 1799, p. 301. "The whole of the district of Gebel Marra, to the West, is entirely appropriated to his (the king's) use, and the wheat, wild honey, etc., which are abundantly produced there are all reserved for his table."

Abyssinia; Charles Johnston, 'Travels in Southern Abyssinia,' London, 1844, Vol. II, p. 242, "I must observe, that strictly, all the honey produced in the country is claimed by the Negroes, who, however, generally give some equivalent for it, so that I never heard this apparently arbitrary circumstance complained of; although I have frequently noticed the clandestine manner in which small quantities of this delicacy were obtained by the nominal owners, who wished to have the opportunity of obtaining some few ahmulahs by selling it to me." Cf. A. B. Wyde, 'Modern Abyssinia,' London, 1901, p. 377, "The honey taken from the wanza flowers being greatly prized, as being of a white colour makes very clear tedj. This honey is sent to Addis Ababa for the queen's use."

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

Alternate Generations in Egypt. Cf. MAN, 1931, 214.

31 SIR.—An Egyptian child may be named after his grandfather; this is by no means so common that we could confidently say it is an ancient rule. The ancient rule, however, is preserved in the custom of addressing a childless man as the father of his father. Thus the son of X is addressed 'O father of X.' (J. S. Wilmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, Key, 73 note.) When I addressed Mohammed Khalil as 'father of Khalil' he grinned and said, 'Your honour does not know why.' 'Yes,' I retorted, 'your father's name is Khalil.' 'That is right,' he said. Evidently the rule in dying out, has left behind an expectation that the child will be named after his father's father. It is the right thing though the custom is more honoured in the breach than the observance. The father's father, however, still retains the right to approve of the child's name; near Damanhur at least it is essential according to 'Ali Ahmed 'Isa Effendi.

For alternate generations in Greece and in the Balkans see C. J. Sc., C., I, 203f; II, 34.

A. M. HOCART.

¹ W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the year 1792 to 1799*, London, 1799, p. 301.

² C. Johnston, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, London, 1844, II, p. 242.

³ I think Savary is here referring to Middle Egypt, that is, the country from the apex of the Delta southwards to Assiût.



CARVED FIGURES FROM BALI, CAMEROONS.

Free Public Museums, Liverpool.

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa : West

With Plate C.

Thomas

VARIATION ON A THEME: ANALYSIS OF SMALL CARVED FIGURES FROM BALI, CAMEROONS, AFRICA. *By Trevor Thomas. Free Public Museums, Liverpool. With Plate C.*

32 There are various ways of looking at native art. It is usual for anthropologists to see specimens as adjuncts of some particular phase or feature of culture, regarding them more as scientific objects than examples of art. Other students will seek to analyse a sequence of design motifs, this, not infrequently, leading to conflict of opinion as to the original design; where one sees a bird another will find a frog or a flower. Or a series may be taken to illustrate theories of evolution and migration. Whilst threading the mazes of theory and idea the investigator often loses sight of the specimen's major claim to attention as a piece of native artistry.

It has been left to the artists to approach primitive art with relatively innocent vision. Yet this form of appreciation if carried to extremes is often in danger of new distortion worse than the complex theories of the specialists. If a balance of æsthetic and scientific methods can be applied it is likely to yield valuable insight to the study of primitive art.

Among the many fine specimens in the Ridyard African Collection in the Liverpool Museums, there is a small group of carvings which may well serve as an illustration of an analysis along these lines. Unless otherwise stated the specimens to be described were "purchased from Mr. James Harrison and "collected by his son in Bali, Cameroons." The records, as meagre as those of most institutions, give no further information.

As a group these figures exhibit a series of variations on a theme. Without wishing to suggest an evolutionary sequence, it is possible to see a development in complexity and a variation in style in relation to technique and materials employed. The simple element of the theme is a human figure; the variations may be conceived as harmonic and contrapuntal.

Most of the figures are carved in moderately hard wood which has darkened so that it is almost black. This colour is largely due to a patina which in some cases is almost metallic in character and can be seen in Plate C.1, where some of it has chipped away. Probably this patina has been acquired through anointing with oil or fat and clay. Some of the surfaces are smooth and polished as though they had been much handled.

There is great similarity in the execution of the pieces, but some show greater technical skill, and it seems reasonable to presume that they were made by different craftsmen. From the point of view of subject, though not necessarily of technique, the simplest figures are the single ones illustrated in Plate C.9 and 10. Of the various examples in the collection some are male and others female. All the figures present one particular attitude with both hands clasped together in front and held under the chin. Some show a definite indication of a cup or similar object being held, as in Plate C.4, but mostly the line is continuous from arm to chin.

There are numerous examples of the second type with two figures set back to back. Combinations of the sexes vary, so that sometimes male and female are together as in Plate C.4; otherwise both are male or both female. This particular specimen has two holes in the tops of the heads and one in the left shoulder of the male figure, into which a length of creeper stem has been inserted. In these

double figures the decorative value of the legs has made a strong appeal and been used with much effect. The bend at the knee has been emphasized to increase the rhythm which this natural line provides. Development of its use in the most functional way is found in a series of ivory trumpets. Of these, Fig. 14 has a single

this respect to some of the wooden figures. The hole made by the bent knees has been cut through in both directions, that is from back to front and from side to side. Whereas in the wooden figures the feet usually lead into a solid base, here they have been transformed into a thin tendril-like cord passing below the embouchure and crossed

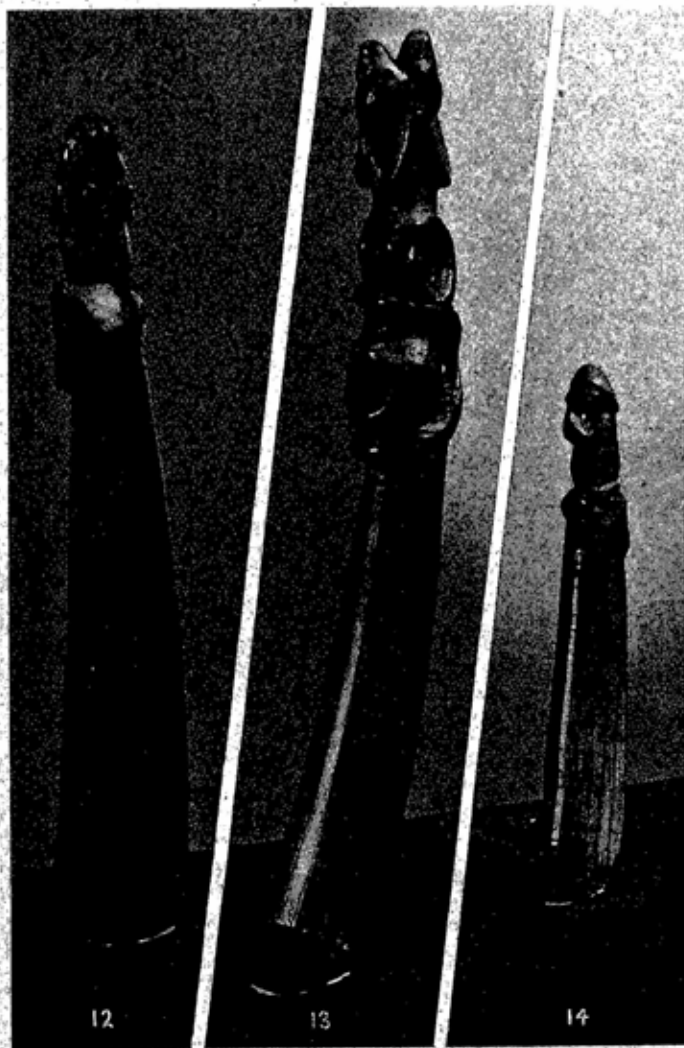
above a small hole pierced at the back.

This particular trumpet almost suggests that perhaps at some stage one of the wooden figures was tied on to the end of a single horn and this later suggested the carving of the whole group in ivory. (The Museums number for this specimen is 27.11.99.40, and it was presented by Mr. E. Holder, Cameroon, per A. Ridyard, who spent his lifetime assembling specimens for the African Collection.)

It is the third of these trumpets, Fig. 12, which shows the skilful use of the leg motif so as to form the actual embouchure. As with the others, there is a small hole at the back and in line with the embouchure. The twin figures are here more conventionalized than in the last example. Moreover, the tops of the shoulders have been kept separate, whereas in most of the other figures this junction of the arms has been retained to form a decorative zig-zag pattern.

The only example of a triple figure is shown in Plate C.2. As a result of the increase in numbers the individual figures have become elongated to make them fit the available design space-area. Of these three one is male, one female and one indeterminate, either hermaphrodite or because the carver was in a quandary. Here again the shoulders have been kept apart so that the arms form three W-shapes around the figure. (Specimen No. 20.8.97.34, presented by Mr. H. L. Jones, Rio del Rey, per A. Ridyard.)

In this sequence of harmonic progressions, four figures have been used in Plate C.7, but only the torsos have been retained, and the heads are joined with a flat section so that the figure may stand either way. As the legs with their strong pattern were discarded, the arms have received increased value and depth of emphasis to compensate the design, so that



FIGS. 12-14. CARVED IVORY TRUMPETS FROM CAMEROONS. FREE PUBLIC MUSEUMS, LIVERPOOL.

figure with the embouchure set at the back, below and apart from the figure itself. A small hole has been bored between the hands and chin, possibly for use as a means of suspension. In Fig. 13, two figures are used and carved in fair detail with a curious sharpening of the dome of the head as compared with the others, but similar in

the arms and apertures are the dominant features.

The next stage seems to have led to mass formation as shown in Plate C.1, where two tiers of figures are set around two cylindrical sections. Formalization is here carried to greater lengths so as to emphasize the pattern. Three types of figures can be distinguished; above the central ring are six males alternating with five figures rather like the indeterminate type in Plate C.2. As these two specimens are adjacent in this illustration it will be observed that the pelvic aperture for these figures is square in section as distinct from the rounded V-shaped opening in the females below and the pointed pelvis of the males alongside. The alternation of five and six in this row brings two males side by side when the circuit is completed. It will be seen, too, that each figure does not have a pair of legs, but that each leg comes between and does service for two bodies. Arms are not continued to the shoulder but only to the elbow so as to produce the zig-zag rhythm. The central cylindrical portion is not continuous but extends only behind the backs of the figures so that the legs and central ring are open. There is a length of fibre twisted around one leg, so that possibly the whole group was suspended.

The other multiple group, Plate C.3, has only one row of people, but all are very closely packed and there are indications at the top of more heads massed inside. Heads are elongated as in Plate C.2, but the most interesting feature is presented by the execution of the legs. There would be obvious difficulty in representing so many legs and it has been overcome by retaining the bent knee motif which developed in the side elevation of the double figures and by using it here in the front elevation. The lozenge-shaped motif has been so obviously detached from its context that it hardly belongs to these massed trunks; yet it makes a good rhythmic pattern around the base of the figure, and repeats the similar rhythm of the arms above. It is worth noticing, too, the way in which all attempts at reproducing the many bodies demanded by the number of heads has been abandoned; one composite belly with subtly indicated organs serves the mass and balances the grouped figures.

What might be regarded as the contrapuntal variations of the theme were foreshadowed in Plate C.7, and are fully realized in Plates C.5 and 6. The individuals are now reversed and inverted so

that instead of being back to back they are only shoulder to shoulder. This device gives an intricate and satisfying set of rhythms, especially in the new patterns made by the arms. Using only two figures in this composition the artist must have been confronted by a technical design problem; the two bodies meeting centrally concentrate the mass of the design there, leaving the legs as attenuated terminations so that the figure could not stand on so weak a base. The problem has been solved by an instinctive feeling for fitness of design in the thickening of the legs. Emphasis on the line from knee to heel reveals an appreciation of the dynamic value of concentrating the tension. This overbalancing tendency is eliminated as soon as four figures are employed as in Plate C.5, and consequently it has been possible to revert to the bent knee motif. The ends of this figure are not solid but cut out to form circles. The heads are fitted with caps and are pointed to fit the groin formed by the adjacent thighs. (Museums No. 24.9.00.42, and presented by Mr. J. H. Frame per A. Ridyard).

When formalization is carried to extremes it is often difficult to trace the original motif. Thus, the specimen shown in Plate C.11, would be rather puzzling if seen in isolation, but in the light of the other specimens it becomes more obvious. As a piece of formal design it is forceful and strong in abstract quality. Reference to the other figures will show how the curves of the head and arms have been amalgamated to produce a strong pattern. Cavities for the arms and eyes have undergone a similar alliance, whilst the teeth, but lightly indicated in some of the others, here form a major part of the design. This process of synthesis is even further maintained in the fusion of penis and protruding navel to form a central boss which dominates the pattern and forms the focus from which the sweeping lines radiate.

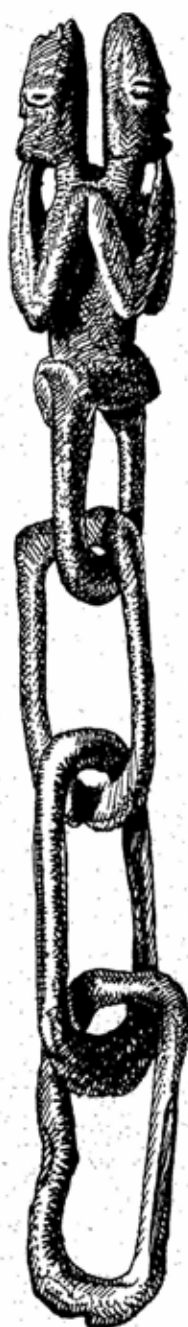
As a result of the use of different materials there is some variation in technique. Figures executed in wood all have the grain running with the length, an advantage where most of the cutting lines run in that direction. Some of the woods are hard and close-grained so that the planes are clean cut and details clear. Others are more fibrous and details have been simplified or modified to suit the softer material as in Plate C.1. Those who have done any wood carving will appreciate the skill with which the heads in this specimen have been undercut and the centre excavated between the



15



16



17



18



legs. In Plate C.8 the material is stone and consequently the design is less taut; facial details are weak for there must have been considerable difficulty in working the hollows and all are roughly chipped. Where the hollow goes through, as between the legs, it has been possible to smooth the surface. The ivory trumpets, Figs. 12, 13, 14, are all smoothly finished with a rounding and softening of the edges. Perhaps the major differences in technique are best summarized by saying that the wooden figures show the clean facets of knife whittling, whereas the stone and ivory reveal rounded edges and abrasions produced by rubbing and smoothing.

Much variation in technique is shown in the treatment of legs and feet according to the function and space relation of the design. Thus, in cases where the feet actually form the base, as in Plate C.1, 6, 9, 10, the feet are lengthened, legs thickened and ankles eliminated. Plate C.6 especially reveals the essential necessity of making the base equal in breadth to the widest part of the upper figure. In all the other instances the legs are more attenuated and the feet eliminated as being inessential to design set on an arbitrary circular or rectangular base, or leading directly into the curve of a link or the body of a horn. It is often stated as characteristic of negro carving that the legs are shortened and thickened, so that it is well to recognize that this is not always the case. And when it is done it is not through inability to carve these extremities, but deliberate awareness of structural and artistic necessity. It is profitable to examine the treatment adopted by some modern sculptors such as Henry Moore in similar cases.

Only two specimens show attention to the ears, and there is a distinct contrast in the treatment. In one case, Plate C.10, the ear has been formed by carving below the general surface level a hollow confined by V-shaped and C-shaped cuts. In the other, Plate C.4, the ear is formed by a C-shaped continuation of the eyebrow raised above the level of the rest of the head. For all the other examples, eyes, noses and mouths have place of prime

importance, and ears are not represented. This is quite natural, for in observing faces most people tend to disregard the ears.

The specimens in Figs. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 are intended to show modifications in the design. There is a kind of sceptre, shown in side and front elevation, with the usual twin figures at the base, their arms and heads lengthened to accommodate the base of the central rod with its diamond pattern. This section presumably forms the grip and above is a single male figure terminating in what appears to be a bell and fool's cap, the bell being pierced with slots at right angles to each other. This termination is patently phallic in conception. The other specimens, Figs. 17 and 18, show a diminution of the extremities in adaptation to the link design. (The specimen with several loops (Fig. 17) was collected by A. Ridyard, Museums No. 9.8.98.15, and the provenance is given as 'Bunge, Rio del Rey'.)

For the interest of comparison a drawing is given (Fig. 19) of a pair of figures on the head of a staff obtained in the Solomon Islands. Whilst the heads in this case have been treated in the round, the bodies are flat and are more elaborately curvilinear in pattern than those from Africa.

I have been able to trace only one illustration and reference to this type of figure and should welcome notice of similar specimens in other collections. Leo Frobenius, *The Childhood of 'Man'* (London, 1909) illustrates similar figures on pp. 179-181, Figures 188-191, which he describes as ancestral effigies of the Bakundu. Apart from their fertility significance, it seems possible that some reflect dancing or acrobatic activities, perhaps of ritual significance.

List of figure-numbers and dimensions in inches :

1. 3.11.08.53	7½" high	10. 3.11.08.55	4½" high
2. 20.8.97.34	6" "	11. 3.11.08.48	4½" "
3. 3.11.08.52	6" "	12. 3.11.08.66	10½" length
4. 3.11.08.37	5½" "	13. 27.11.99.40	11" "
5. 24.9.00.42	5½" "	14. 3.11.08.68	6½" "
6. 3.11.08.51	5" "	15-6. 3.11.08.59	13½" high
7. 3.11.08.50	3½" "	17. 9.8.98.15	10½" "
8. 3.11.08.49	2½" "	18. 3.11.08.57	5½" "
9. 3.11.08.54	3½" "		

YAIKUREKARAPA: AN OLD AINU ORATION. of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

33 *Yai-kuru-e-karapa* means personal speech-making; but the word is used only for a felicitous address, as when the wine-master at a feast congratulates the host. It is never

used for funeral orations or on other sad occasions. It is usually poetical in form and presentation and might be termed a song, since it is always intoned or chanted. On this occasion

—if one may use the present tense for a custom which has practically disappeared—it is delivered by the father at the wedding of an only daughter. It is clear from the context that she is also an only child, and we read between the lines a subtle hint of anxiety, now relieved by the prospect of her children continuing the ancestral line.

The bridegroom has been approved of, not only in ordinary respects, but particularly as to his line of descent. The old social organization of the Ainu was saliently a clan organization held together by the cord of matrilineal descent, rigidly exogamous and maintained as such by implacable prohibitions, but traces of patrilineal descent are just discernible at the present time. The evidence for descent of each group from a specific eponymous ancestress was much more concrete than in most examples of totemic belief. It was furnished by a secret girdle which no man dare examine and was even taboo to ask about. The girdle was anciently known as *a-eshimukep*, 'revered hidden thing,' the name still in common use being *upshoro-kut*, 'bosom (secret) belt.' This is considered here more 'polite' than *upshoro-tush*, though I first found it under that name in the North of Yezo Island. It really is a cord (*tush*) conventionally taken to signify a particular ancestral source according to its length and, consequently, the number of times it is folded to make the girdle. Elderly women who treasure their esoteric knowledge decide whether the *kut* of the man's mother bears testimony to a matrilineal descent other than that of the bride. In the present case the bridegroom, tested by the criterion of the *kut*, has been pronounced eligible as a husband for this particular girl.

All preliminaries ended, and wedding gifts exchanged (for there is no bride-price in Ainu custom), the most revered and trusted Kamui Fuchi—spirit ancestress of all Ainu, who comes to light in the hearth-fire—having been solicited, all is in order. If it be asked how lineage from a single ancestress could be compatible with division into distinctive exogamous clans, the answer is that Kamui Fuchi allotted a different *kut* and line of descent to each of several female *kamui*. Such *kamui* are indicated by names, e.g., Bear, Wolf, or Grampus, and they might well date from a time when theriomorphic *kamui* were unquestionable realities as potent ancestors.

It was customary for the bridegroom to send to the home of the bride material for the preparation of the sacred brew, *inau-korashkoro*, which took a week or so to make. This was made from millet with ancient ritual precautions. Though no longer officially permitted, a tiny amount may be surreptitiously made to-day, the Government closing an eye, since it is aware that the ancient drink of Ainu ancestors for untold generations cannot be absolutely prohibited without causing intense mortification, particularly at their most important rites, the offerings to ancestral spirits.

The guests have assembled for the feast, when the father of the bride makes the speech or recitative in poetic form which preludes the ancient rite of handing a cup of the sacred brew to the bridegroom opposite, who drinks half and gives the remainder to his bride. Should she refuse to take it there is no marriage, but that must have been of rare occurrence, for young women are said to have had some liberty of choice short of infringing the law of exogamy. The actual proceeding is this. With the cup filled to the brim the father places across it the *bashui*, the prayer and libation stick regarded as a messenger of Kamui Fuchi to other *kamui*, mostly outside the dwelling. At present known as *iku-bashui* (*iku*, drinking) it has become known to English readers as a 'moustache-lifter.' But this is not its significant function. Its pointed end has a sign indicating a tongue, or a tongue is suggested by the form of the end. By all elderly Ainu of my acquaintance it is regarded as a sacred object. It is laid on the cup with the unpointed end at the right hand. Before handing a cup to another the giver turns the *bashui* round, an act of politeness which places the blunt end for the recipient to take in his right hand. This is called *bashui oshipi*, or turning round the *bashui*. This is likewise done by the father before handing it over; but whereas it is customary for the giver first to take a sip, on this occasion the cup is handed untasted to the bridegroom. When the bride receives it from the latter, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently thrice to right and left, drinks, and then does the peculiar feminine gesture called *rai-mik*. This consists in drawing the forefinger of the right hand from that of the left hand, up the arm and across the upper lip. She then says *hap*,

a word indicating thanks. During the recital which precedes the turning of the *bashui* and giving the cup, the father holds it in his left hand and keeps softly stroking it with the right, a to and fro motion. This is equivalent to the act of *ongami*, reverent or polite salutation by to and fro motion of the slightly interlaced fingers of both hands. The *yaiikurekarapa* is also known as *bashui oshipi itak* or talk at turning round the *bashui*.

The following anthropologically interesting, and in some respects beautiful, poem was suddenly poured out by my learned Ainu informant, Nisukrekuru, on my asking him why the Ainu held the North wind in high esteem. Various items of information from *ekashi* (Ainu elders) had pointed to the North as the probable source of Ainu ancestral immigration. Among these mention may be made of the northern position assigned to an ancestral *kamui* second only in importance to *Kamui Fuchi*. At the Bear Festival also the *bashui* laid on the rim of the cup offered to the *ramat* (spirit) of the *kamui* still supposed to linger in the head present at the communal feast, is oriented to the North Star or possibly the constellation of Ursa Minor. This is called 'Our Visible Person.' My simple query seemed to carry a cogent suggestion, thus eliciting a dream-like answer from the depths of the old man's memory.

The poem is old; its reference to a bygone custom, and the survival of some words no longer in common use, assure us that it was composed some generations back; how many it would be hazardous to guess. Doubtless it has been preserved owing to its artistic charm and its subtle appeal to sentiments and motives familiar to them, and not too far from us. In this power of stirring emotion it shares the merit of the truest poetry.

In conclusion I have to confess that my knowledge of the Ainu language is altogether too slight for unaided translation. Without my Ainu teacher it would not have been possible. At the same time it was possible for me to add a little to its understanding.

AINU TEXT TAKEN FROM DICTATION BY NISUKREKGURU.

1.
Matnau... Ari
Chiyera
Chikoro tukotan
Konish etuka.

Matnau!
What we call wind
Brings clouds in sight
Of our native village.

2.
Konish pirasa,
Nish kanraru
Iko tuka.
Shiri-koro Kamui
Shuptomo oroke
Chikurere
Korachi anbe.

Clouds outspreading,
Cloud margins blending,
(Drift through the forest)
Seeming, indeed, to pass
Through the very bosom
Of Shiri-koro Kamui.

3.
Teeta shinrit,
Uwoma hine.
Masa ochine
Chiye kotan.

Ancient ancestors
In shining array,
Their proper place
We call Kotan.

4.
Tan iri itak,
Kamui iri itak,
Chieomare,
Tapanbe kusu.

This the kinship talk,
Speech of spirit kin,
Surely given to us.

5.
"Atui tomatuye
"Uko-chip-kuru,
"Ehevesuke,
"Uko-chip-kuru,
"Hosuitek-ka,
"Chiki akoraka."

"Far across the ocean,
"Ships coming and going,
"Swaying on the waters,
"Ships meeting and passing,
"Draw quickly near, and part,
"As we have done."

6.
Tane anakne,
Shinrit oka,
E chuptek yainu,
Ku ki... akoraka.

Hence of ancestors, long gone,
I thought in lonely dread.

7.
Funatta hepak,
Turesh matpo,
Kukoro akusu,
Sange masara,
Makun masara
E teshten,
Ki akusu.

Yet happily
This girl of mine,
(Young maid of your day)
Roaming, left foot-prints
On seashore and land beyond.
By this alone
Is my heart uplifted.

8.
Tampe patek,
Ku e-yairampo
E rik uruke.

Oka ash awa,
Tannepo tapne,
Kokou nemanup,
Chi nukara kusu,
Chi e-ko bashui
Oshipi itak
Ku ye have ne na.

Long have we dwelt together,
But at last, as we see
Whom I may call son,
I utter this speech
Of turning my and your *bashui*.

Ha, . . . e . . . e . . . e. Ha . . . e . . . e . . . e.

NOTES.

1. *Matnau* is the personal name of the north wind, and the verse seems to hint at Ainu derivation from the north, whence ancestral spirits are wafted in the clouds by that wind. *Mat* also signifies 'woman.' I am not clear as to the significance of *na*.

2. The words in parentheses do not occur in Ainu, but were understood by my informant. The word I have translated 'bosom' is literally 'main body'; this translation conveys the feeling, formerly prevalent, that forest and home are alike embodiments of that beneficent *kamui*. Shiri-koro Kamui is also known as

Shiramba Kamui, supreme spirit of vegetation, especially of trees which provide the Ainu with houses, fire, utensils, implements and weapons, even clothes.

3. The word *ochi-ne* is obscure, but in the north of Yezo I happened to note the application of the word *ochi*, meaning 'lighted' or 'shining,' to the chief spirits of the ancestral host. The place of the ancestral host is commonly known as Kamui Kotan. The word *kotan*, though usually indicating a village and its precincts, means 'place of existence.'

4. Literally this speech of the spirit kin was 'put in' or 'poured out to' the living.

5. This beautiful verse is really an *upashkuma*—sacred, or valued, teaching—which poetically reminds us of 'Ships passing in the night,' and of Shakespeare's 'All that lives must die, Passing through Nature to Eternity.' Possibly there is here some faint reminiscence of ancestral migration.

6. The girl's father, without descendants to continue his ancestral line, felt miserably lonely, but the context seems to suggest revival of hope in the idea that his daughter, bearing children, would leave other 'footprints' in the sands of time.

7. I have inserted the line in brackets, perhaps unnecessarily, as a reminder that the term *turesh*, meaning 'younger sister,' here simply refers to a girl of the same generation to which the bridegroom belongs. This alone suffices to date the composition of the poem to a time anterior to the present. As already remarked,

Ainu relationship was formerly reckoned by matrilineal descent, with rigid exogamy imposed on members of the same lineage, as determined by reference to the secret girdles worn by all women. Inter-marriage with Japanese, together with general deterioration, has largely destroyed that system, but it lingers still among elderly Ainu. More than traces of this classificatory system of relationship persist in places where also extension of relationship terms between members of a community not necessarily connected by common descent, may be detected. But inquiries have failed to trace the survival of such intimate terms as brother or sister outside family relations. The expression *Turesh matpo*, 'Younger sister girl,' perplexing to my learned informant, is explicable on the ground that it represents a social custom which vanished long ago.

Masara is the shore above the tide but *sange* meaning 'descent,' probably implies the beach, while *makun*, meaning 'beyond' or 'behind,' signifies—according to Batchelor's Dictionary—the land away from the shore. *Teshesu*, probably onomatopoeic, implies tripping over the ground and leaving traces thereon.

8. *Kokou*, actually corresponds to the clumsy English 'son-in-law.' Since, however, marriage with his only daughter, failing a son of his own, entitles the husband to the position of son, a little poetic licence is here indulged in the translation.

Nemanup means 'that which is called.'

'Ha...e...e...' is equivalent to 'Amen.'

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Fieldwork in Northtown: Four Institutions in
34 Industrial Culture. Summary of a Communication presented by Mr. Tom Harrison.
 8 February, 1938.

The Lecturer gave some preliminary results of his first year's fieldwork in the typical inland industrial town which he called 'Northtown.' Broad theoretical conclusions would be put forward when the present phase of fieldwork was complete and the first five volumes of results published (in the autumn of this year). The nature of this fieldwork and some simple results were considered. A principal subject of study has been institutions in relation to their component individuals in industrial culture. Four typical institutions illustrate this.

(I) The *public house*, studied by three research workers, using the unit's method of, first, infiltration and social acceptance; second, objective observation; third, association, active participation, and subjective observation; fourth, interview; fifth, questionnaire—useful when the answers are known. The 'pub' study revealed three points relevant to the present theme:

(i) Only a tiny fraction of the total 'pub' goers were young people, under 25; youth was no longer naturally attracted to a 'pub' environment.

(ii) An increasing number of clubs are springing up, to compete with 'pubs' in a considerable antagonism.

(iii) Successful competition of these clubs, which are largely outside control of the law, has been made possible by an official action in concluding, on erroneous data and a fanciful graph, that music in 'pubs' makes for more drunkenness. This year, second of the music's compulsory cessation, the number of drunkards has soared. But the number of drunkenness convictions, the basis of all municipal, national and licensing action, is no real index of drinking activity. And the official action has dislocated the social life of a large area, 250,000 people to whom music in the 'pub' equalled delight and 'culture,' to whom the large central 'pubs' of Northtown with their week-end concerts were the heart of a cultural area far larger than Northtown itself. Now many go to the other town areas where singing is allowed. The social pattern has been altered.

(II) The *Church* continually worries about youth, and can no longer attract it—excepting the Catholics and the extreme Evangelicals, who pack their churches in Northtown. Of many reasons for this, and its great effect on the culture, we may here indicate for example: the great discrepancy between ordinary language (12,000 talk topics), the church's language and the films; the discrepancy between the 400 sermons recorded and the 'real life' of the town; the increase of alternatives, the major influences of Petrulengo and

Littlewood; the correlated decay of political enthusiasm and belief in a better future; the changing time theory of Northtown and the emphasis on Death as such, which influences every institution. On the other hand the Archbishop's Recall is clearly based on an almost complete ignorance of social trends.

(III) *Politics* itself is threatened by the most obvious apathy. Nearly 50 per cent. of Northtown voters don't bother. Less than 1 per cent. who do are under 25. In municipal politics, of course, youth is largely excluded by the conditions of electoral qualification, and this affects subsequent attitudes. And as in the church, political language is often mass-incomprehensible (especially in approach to women), having the minimum effect on the majority of people who, more and more, doubt the services that politics claims to provide. Detailed statistical and observational work (4 people full-time, 30 part-time) reveals exact distribution of such feelings, which threaten the accepted structure of our 'democratic society.'

(IV) Individual life is more easily adjusted in some ways to changing external conditions. In institutions where the degree of selection and easy participation are high, individuals maintain their enthusiasm, especially when the result of participation is uncertain and emotively variable, as in the Wanderers or Blackpool. Blackpool is run by one common and powerful plan, is perhaps more successful in its aim than any other unit in England; it is the essential outlet of escape from Northtown. It affects millions in their one 'time-free,' work-free, week of the fifty-two (mainly without wages). It contains everything that is not industrial, everything magical, mystic, eastern, dreamland, impossible, remote or Mecca. It negates the efforts of other institutions. Its success was studied by 32 whole-time investigators in the holiday peak, and a smaller unit throughout the year.

Prehistoric Monuments in Sumatra. *Summary of 35 a Communication presented by Dr. F. M. Schnitger, Conservator of the Museum of Antiquities at Palembang (Sumatra) and Leader of the archaeological expeditions in Sumatra, 1935 and 1936. 22 February, 1938.*

About the beginning of our era there lived in South Sumatra a people who had reached a high level of culture. They already knew bronze, used the buffalo as riding-animal and had tamed the elephant. What type of people they actually were we do not know, but they seem to have come originally from Tonking. The megaliths and bronzes found there show a remarkable affinity to those of Sumatra.

The main animal in the Sumatran prehistoric plastic work is the buffalo; he carries the soul of the departed to the underworld. The tiger also plays an important rôle, due to the Malay belief in the kinship of tigers and men. Interesting too are the traces of an ancient elephant-cult. Stone elephants were erected as seats of the souls. With

this may be compared the custom of some Iban chiefs in North Borneo of erecting a bamboo pole with a wooden elephant on top, when they have obtained a certain number of human heads.

In Middle Sumatra menhirs, dolmens and stone terraces were built. In North Sumatra we find an earlier stage of the megalithic culture in the Batak country: great stone coffins with bull-heads and human figures in front, colossal round pots in which the skulls of chiefs are preserved, human figures on elephants and horses, lizards in stone, menhirs, etc.

A living megalithic culture is found in Nias: stone terraces, steps, menhirs and altars, also seats in animal form, which are soul-stones for the departed, the oldest forms of the Indian *wahana*. All these megaliths show a resemblance to those of the peoples in Assam and Burma: such as the Naga, Lakher and Lushei.

Committee on Applied Anthropology. *Report of a 36 discussion meeting. 28 January, 1938.*

Major Hanns Vischer, Educational Adviser to the Colonial Office, opened a discussion on the problems connected with the inculcation of a moral code as an element in native education. In the last few years, he pointed out, educational programmes had been brought increasingly in contact with native life as far as the subjects of instruction were concerned, but a discipline and a philosophy of life were also necessary. When we opened the first schools for Africans in Northern Nigeria it was possible to appeal to the moral code of Islam. It was generally accepted and it had always been possible for the European teacher to appeal to it. In the south the mission schools of those days taught Christian ethics along with a purely European educational programme, and little consideration was given to traditional standards. Statements of policy by the Colonial Office had insisted upon the importance of moral teaching, but in the government schools, which were taking an increasing share in advanced education, this was not always easy. Judging by the West African students whom he saw in London, the product of this system was very rarely a person with a definite code of values on which he could rely when separated from his own environment. The graduates of Achimota formed a striking exception.

In discussion it was pointed out that the Achimota system is in many ways peculiar, in that both staff and students are highly selected, the students coming from families in a position of economic security, and that the college makes a point of finding employment for its graduates and keeping in touch with them; they thus retain the consciousness of membership of a group which is generally regarded as an élite. The actual time devoted to study of native tradition at Achimota was not great, but native custom was regarded in principle as worthy of respect. The Achimota graduates, however, were prepared for a life in a more or less Europeanized environment. Different problems arose with the pupils of the technical and training colleges in Nigeria, where many pupils returned to

rural life either as teachers or through failure to find work. Here there was a real clash between tribal and modern morality, further complicated by the number of tribes represented in the same college. It was suggested that some rational explanation of the changes which are taking place in native society would be of value. It was also pointed out that the Christian code does not represent the realities of European society, and that the native secessionist churches are the result of the African's rejection of a morality which supports the dominance of the European. It would seem to be the anthropologist's task to elaborate a morality based on sociological realities, but he has not yet the necessary knowledge to do so.

Recent Research Expeditions in West China.

37 Report by David Crockett Graham, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

During the months of April to July, 1937, Mr. John Hanson-Lowe, B.Sc., of London and Strassburg Universities, travelled in the Si-Kang region, from Tatsienlu to Ganze and Li-Tang. He was under a research fellowship from the Royal Society and was particularly interested in geography and glaciations. This is the second visit of Mr. Hanson-Lowe to this region. His first was about a year ago under a fellowship from the Universities' China Committee in London.

During the summer months, Dr. Gordon Agnew, D.D.S., president of the West China Border Research Society, conducted an expedition to the Si-Kang region, going from Tatsienlu to Taining, Tao Fu, and as far as Ganze. He made an oral study of the Tibetan tribes and also a study of their diets. With him as assistants were Miss Jean Stewart of Chungking and Dr. Eugenia Sharevitch, a young Russian lady who recently graduated from the School

of Dentistry of West China Union University. There were also with him two graduates of the Union University Medical School who took physical measurements and other observations for Dr. W. R. Morse.

A third expedition consisted of Professor D. S. Dye, Mrs. Dye and Rev. Fred Owen. Mr. Owen was the photographer. Mrs. Dye studied the birds of this region, using opera glasses instead of a gun. Professor Dye studied the results of earthquakes and of glaciation, and also Chinese lattice work. Professor Dye has studied Chinese lattice for more than twenty years and his book, by far the largest and best yet written, is being published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Due to the coming of Dr. J. G. Andersson to West China, a geological and archaeological research expedition was made into the Si-Hang region. Long and careful excavation was not permitted. The purpose was to make a thorough survey in order to locate sites for future excavation. The party consisted of Dr. J. G. Andersson, his secretary, Miss Vivian Dorf, Mr. Ch'i Yen-p'ei, an archaeologist of the Academia Sinica, Professor Chou Hsien-ho of the National Szechuan University, and David C. Graham, director of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art and Ethnology.

The results in paleolithic culture was negative and tended to raise problems that it will take years to solve. More than twenty sites were discovered, some doubtless neolithic, and all probably prehistoric. Some excellent smooth-stone implements were secured and quantities of sherds and pottery. The collection is now in the museum of the National Szechuan University, where it will remain, except for some duplicates which will be given to the West China Union University Museum. A report of this expedition will be published by the Academia Sinica.

OBITUARY.

James Leslie Starkey: 3rd January, 1895—10th January, 1938.

38 Mr. Starkey's main characteristics as an archaeologist were his amazing quickness, his visual memory, his attention to detail, and a *flair* for objects amounting to genius. In his first year as a member of Sir Flinders Petrie's excavating party he called attention to a peculiar type of pottery which had been seen but not noted by other excavators, and he never rested until he had persuaded Petrie to let Miss Caton Thompson dig the mound where the pottery was found. The result was the discovery of the Badarian civilization. On another occasion, while still a novice at excavation, he insisted on emptying the sand out of every pot found. There were about two thousand pots, with only two exceptions he drew blank, but those two repaid him for his drudgery; one contained a hoard of gold coins, and the other held the priceless manuscript of a Coptic version of St. John's Gospel of a slightly earlier date than the Codex Sinaiticus.

Later, he worked for the University of Michigan at the Romano-Egyptian town of Karanis (the modern Kom Washim), an excavation which threw much light on an obscure period. When Petrie went to Palestine in search of fresh fields and pastures new, Starkey went with his old chief, and with him excavated three of the great fortified mounds of the ancient Syro-Egyptian frontier. But his principal work, and the one by which he became so well known, was when he took charge of the excavations at Tell ed-Duweir. His faculty for organization, his method of excavation, and his brilliant powers of observation became more and more developed as he grew in years and experience. The find of the 'Lachish Letters' was entirely due to that keenness of eye and quickness of observation which had enabled him at the beginning of his career to recognize the peculiarities of Badarian pottery. The Tell ed-Duweir excavations revealed much of the greatest importance, especially to Biblical students, but a large measure of the interest

of the finds was due to Starkey's knowledge of the objects found. He was beloved by the workmen—Egyptian or Palestinian—and his wanton murder by one of the people whom he had always befriended intensifies the horror of the deed. He had the faculty of making permanent friendships wherever he went, whether with his own countrymen or with Arabs, for his character was one of frankness and

transparent sincerity. It is difficult to estimate his work, for he died before it was finished. Much of Tell ed-Duweir is still unexcavated, and the work already done is still unpublished. He was killed while still in the midst of his work, but had he lived there is no doubt that he would have been one of the great archaeologists of our time.

M. A. MURRAY.

REVIEWS.

The Dawn of the Human Mind. By Dr. R. R. Schmidt, translated by Professor R. A. S. Macalister. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1936.

39

The name of Dr. R. R. Schmidt is well known in connexion with prehistoric investigations in Germany. He has now set his hand to a slightly less concrete sort of work, and to my mind it is a pity he has changed his 'last.' Not a few writers (Clemens, Luquet, Mainage, etc.) have attempted to arrive at the outlook on life of palaeolithic man. Such comprehensive attempts are always popular in the sense that they are much more satisfying to the general reader than are dull statements of fact resulting from excavations, etc. But how far are these theories likely to be true? Even if an author lived continually in such a region as the Dordogne or Pyrenees, where the spirit of the prehistoric homes and cave temples might be expected to exert their influence on him, he would still of necessity approach the matter with the outlook of a West European belonging to a post-Neolithic culture. Written at a study table far away, the chances of arriving at something really true seem to me personally to be remote. Much has to be added from small indications, and in the present case the problem arises as to how far these premises themselves are trustworthy. For example, on page 179 we read: "It is believed that initiation rites can be reconstructed from the collection of objects found in the famous Pyrenean cave called Tuc d'Audoubert. The sanctuary lies deep in the interior of the mountain. A stream must be swum and a steep chimney scrambled up." Now the so-called sanctuary does not lie deep in the mountain. Indeed, it has been suggested that the ancient entrance may have actually opened into it, the present one being only a chance back access! I know the Tuc well and I can assure my readers that there is no proof whatever of any initiation ceremonies having taken place there. Whose the so-called heel marks may have been and why they are there we do not know, but it is obviously rash to hang any theory on the hypothesis that they were made by initiation dancers. Moreover, not everyone can accept Dr. Schmidt's interpretations of some of the 'home art.' He may be right, of course, but I should hesitate to accept theories built on these interpretations. For example, he asserts that the engraving from Chancelade (Fig. 67) represents a bison in a hunting trap. Does it? He is certain as to the interpretation of the testiforms. Lucky man to be always so sure! In short, while Dr. Schmidt may undoubtedly be correct in many cases the foundations of his belief are debatable.

In the earlier parts of the book he deals with prehistoric races, and here also he is surely a little too dogmatic. The possibility that true *Homo sapiens* developed early, before Neanderthal man, in another region is not sufficiently considered, and would not fit in well with his theories. On page 83 we read: "Again, we take it as assured that the decisive event, the rising of the newly formed *Homo sapiens* with his lofty brow

out of the primitive stock of *Homo primigenius*, the Ascent of Man, cannot have been consummated except in the Ancient North. It was not in a warm region of existence that the Primeval Mind of dawning man arose; it was under the blast of the Arctic climate." Quite clearly in Germany! Yet if all this criticism is remembered the work is exciting to read and is a brave attempt to accomplish the perhaps impossible. Not the least brave thing about it is Dr. Schmidt's certainty. Where most of us would hedge, put in queries and insert such phrases as 'perhaps,' 'maybe,' 'it is possible that,' 'can we not suggest,' the author goes ahead with positive assertions. I cannot, I think, quite agree with the translator that this is not a book for armchair reading. Emphatically that is just what it is; and it will reward the reader—if it does not a little irritate him!—by making him think. But should a serious student take it as a text book of facts he will run many dangers. The translator, indeed, is to be congratulated on the way he has overcome the immense difficulties that must have continually arisen.

M. C. BURKITT.

The Dream in Primitive Cultures. By Jackson Steward Lincoln, M.A., Ph.D., with an introduction by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. London, 1935. xiii + 359 pp. and frontispiece. Price 18s.

40

This was a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London. A short historical review of dream interpretation (Part I) occupies 15 pages, the remainder of the book being approximately equally divided between Part II (structure, theory and function; culture items originating in dreams; symbols, types and forms; nuclear complexes, e.g., Oedipus and castration, and their discovery through analysis) and Part III (an account of American Indian dreams and their correlation to their respective cultures). There does not appear to be much original work in this thesis, but the work of other authors is carefully assembled and commented on, in the psycho-analytical tradition deriving from Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Lincoln adopts the teleological view that symbolism in dreams is a purposeful disguise, without considering the possibility that symbolism may be merely a primitive form of thinking. He classifies dreams of primitive people into ordinary dreams and sought visions, e.g., incubation. The former are divided into sleeping night-dreams and waking day-dreams, with which myths are closely connected. Lévy-Bruhl (*La Mentalité Primitive*, 1922) is quoted to the effect that primitives distinguish between dreams and the perceptions of waking reality. Lincoln adds: "Yet often the dream experience is regarded as having a greater reality value than an actual experience." He further quotes Kroeber (*American Anthropologist*, No. 4, 1902): "If these tribes could express themselves in an abstract terminology, they would probably say that the phenomena of dreams have an absolute reality but that they exist in a

"dimension in which there is no time and in which there is no distinction between spiritual and material." The reviewer is reminded of Sir Arthur Eddington's words in *The Nature of the Physical World*: "The impression of externality is equally strong in the world that comes to me in dreams; the dream-world is less rational, but that might be used as an argument in favour of its externality as showing its dissociation from the internal faculty of reasoning." This is also the attitude of spiritualists, with their mediums and Red Indian guides.

The book may be regarded as an important milestone on the oneirocritic trail leading from Freud's work. An early milestone was Seligman's *Note on Dreams in Sudan Notes and Records*, 4, 156 (1921), reprinted with modifications in MAN, 1923, 120, in which it was pointed out that 'natives' dreamed both straightforward and symbolic dreams and that the symbols were similar to those occurring in European dreams. It was also shown that dreams affected culture, in that ancestors appeared in dreams and ordered sacrifices, and that symbolism was of two kinds, either particular to the dreamer or common to the tribe. In 1924 came Seligman's *Presidential Address* (J. Roy. Anth. Inst., LIV, 35), in which he spoke of "what I hope may be

"the beginning of a purposive investigation of the 'unconscious among non-European races.'" In 1928 Seligman pointed out the important bearing of certain forms of dreams on the problem of the diffusion of culture, and he returned to the question of dreams of primitive people in the *Huxley Memorial Lecture* for 1932 (J. Roy. Anth. Inst. LXII, 193), having meanwhile broadcast a talk on the subject. It is therefore not surprising that Seligman contributes an introduction to the present work.

How easily a dream may become 'prophetic' is shown by the fact that the reviewer, when working at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, about 1920, dreamt that he saw an exotic bird on the lawn at his home. This dream was probably determined by the fact that he had that day regretfully refused an invitation from a friend whose name was the same as that of the bird, and over-determined by the fact that he had kept such a bird at home for several years. Two strange coincidences, on the next day, made the dream 'prophetic': (i) a letter was received in which the writer said that he had met the friend; and (ii) it was reported to the reviewer that two ornithologists had just seen such a bird on the terrace of St. Thomas's Hospital—an extremely rare occurrence! CANNING SUFFERN.

OCEANIA.

Naven. By Gregory Bateson. Cambridge (University Press), 1936. xviii. 286 pp., plates. Price 18s.

41 Mr. Bateson's book is full of apologies: in the First Chapter, for the new and therefore imperfect technique of approach, in the Epilogue, for the fact that the investigation failed to discover anything really new, and throughout the book for this or that digression, or this or that lengthy discussion on a subject with which the author confesses to be but imperfectly acquainted (e.g., psycho-pathology, p. 179). This being so, the reviewer's apologies may not perhaps be considered quite out of place. They concern (a) the fact that this is going to be a long review, (b) the possibility that the reviewer may not be able to present the theoretical ideas expounded in the book as lucidly as he wished, and (c) that he may not be able to preserve the (in the book already) very precarious balance between facts and comments, between concrete descriptions and methodological discussions. But let me say this at once: Mr. Bateson's book is one of the most important contributions to modern anthropology and sociology. The criticisms which I shall have to make will be criticisms *ad maiorem scientiae gloriam*. Mr. Bateson's observations are stimulating and convincing. And his theoretical formulations are often of the very highest order. Rather, one could reproach him for having attempted too much, and having thrown his net of formulations and definitions (often but preliminary formulations and definitions) over too wide a field—at least so it seems to the reviewer who has to condense the rich contents of this book into the smallest space.

A few of his formulations are less convincing, however. It seems an arbitrary distinction to split interpretation of culture into 'structural' and 'sociological,' i.e., into an interpretation of culture facts as 'consistent within' the culture setting, and an interpretation in terms of 'needs' of the group *qua* group, e.g., solidarity or integration. The term 'structure' is not used in the familiar way as defining an order or arrangement of elements, but as referring to the elements themselves, to social acts, to 'details of standardized behaviour,' to what I should call the 'contents' of culture. But then, as we shall see presently, the aspect of social 'content,' social behaviour in its concrete reality, is almost

completely overshadowed in Mr. Bateson's social theory by ideas of order and system-bound arrangement.

Then there is this novel but perhaps not quite vital addition to our sociological vocabulary, 'schismogenesis.' It plays an important part in Mr. Bateson's analysis of culture; but it is rather a panacea sort of classification. It is meant to define, in the first instance, the tendency to fission which characterizes the New Guinea tribe whose culture Mr. Bateson was studying; but beyond that, it refers to practically every possible conflict situation, in savage as well as civilized society: antagonism, rivalry, estrangement, colourbar, racial antipathy, armaments race, class war, 'maladjustments' in neurosis or psychosis, etc., etc. The *tertium comparationis* lies in the character of the conflict-relation which all these phenomena express, namely a conflict which leads to ever increasing fission, and in which the behaviour of one party represents a typical reaction to that of the other (p. 175). Try as I may, I can find no new or specific feature in this phenomenon which may warrant the new term. Rather, it seems to define a conflict relation of such general and abstract character that one wonders if there is any sense in lumping together under the same heading, say, class war and the 'schismogenesis' between a neurotic and his family and friends (p. 181).

I have to apologize again: I have not yet stated what the book is about. It is devoted to the analysis of a certain ceremony (from which it has its title) of the Iatmul people, a tribe from the middle Sepik River in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. The *naven* ceremony, which plays a prominent part in the life of the tribe, is celebrated by the maternal uncle (*wau*) for his sister's child (*laua*), male or female, whenever he or she has carried out a certain important achievement, or has carried it out for the first time, and has thus reached a new stage in his or her life. Such occasions for the *naven* are: the first killing of an enemy, a successful hunt, the building of a big canoe, felling of a sago palm, planting of important food plants, also an initiation ceremony, marriage, etc. Birth and death are not celebrated by the *naven*. The ceremony consists first of all, in an exchange of food and other valuables between the various relatives who take part. Through-

out the ceremony, exhibition of pride and boastful behaviour characterizes the conduct of the participants. And last but not least: for the ceremony, men dress as women and women dress as men—a masquerade connected with much fun in pantomiming, with buffoonery and with sexual gestures and allusions.

The social significance of the *naven* ceremony is revealed in a detailed examination of the relation between the ceremonial activities and the other provinces of tribal life: the exchange of presents is understood as a demonstration of the kinship structure of the tribe, in all its ramifications and classificatory identifications. The boastful conduct, the stress on the sentiment of pride, reflects the general habitude of the people which is significant also in connexion with such tribal activities as the building of large ceremonial houses, the carrying out of big headhunting expeditions, and even the fact that the Iatmul like to live in large villages. The 'transvesticism' finally dramatizes Iatmul sex morale and their ideas on sex differentiation: the distaste and contempt which men have for the 'feminine' woman, and the admiration of the women for the Iatmul 'he-man.'

However, the strength of Mr. Bateson's book lies less in the actual anthropological interpretation, with its comparatively meagre material and meagre yield, than in the detailed methodological discussion of the ways and means by which he arrived at his interpretation. Not one conclusion, not one single 'functional' connexion, is taken for granted. And in this comprehensive, carefully thought out analysis of concepts and methods of anthropological interpretation lies the real importance of the book. Mr. Bateson's sociological system can be summarized in the following three general statements:—First, the essential phenomenon of culture is standardized behaviour. Second, cultural interpretation must be 'synchronic,' i.e., must rely only on items and data present in the culture itself. Third, social and cultural significance is relative; there is no absolute, *per se* significance of social facts, they can only be interpreted under structural, sociological, or other significance-lending 'aspects.' The first of these statements leads on to the two-fold problem: how, by what machinery, does the standardization of behaviour work, and what are the possible types of standardization? The caveat of rules two and three forbids recurrence to universal social motives and values and to needs, drives or necessities, derived from other, so-to-speak outside fields of experience (psychology, biology, etc.). The explanation of standardized cultural behaviour can therefore be derived only from relations, functional relations to be exact, existing between the cultural phenomena themselves. According to the human reality which they express these relations can be of three kinds: (1) relations which express *cognitive* reasons of behaviour and which are based on logical schemata which link item with item, social act with social act. (2) Relations which express *affective* motivations for social acts. (3) Relations which express *sociological* (i.e., group-) connexions, i.e., needs involved in the constitution of social groups (p. 30). This last principle is, logically, the weakest of the three, for evidently it can work only through (1) and (2), and, besides, it breaks the restrictions of the 'synchronic' interpretation by introducing the forbidden universal social 'needs.'

However, the emphasis of Mr. Bateson's theory of society lies on the first two principles. They constitute the main springs of cultural behaviour, and they lead above all to the holistic interpretation of culture, i.e., to the interpretation of the culture-whole under the aspect of culture types or (as Dr. Benedict would say) 'patterns.' Mr. Bateson does not yet see

clearly the relation between his own holistic formulation and Dr. Benedict's semi-philosophical (and semi-historical as well) pattern interpretation (pp. 33, 34, 255). But he, too, cannot see the unitary whole of culture except as expression of 'some abstract property of 'culture' and an unexplainable, mystic *Zeitgeist* (p. 112). But to return to our discussion. The cognitive reasons of behaviour form, in their totality, the general cognitive 'pattern' of a culture, and the affective motivations similarly constitute the emotional character or 'genius' expressed in a culture. The former represents the *eidos*, the latter the *ethos* of culture (p. 32). Kinship organization supplies perhaps the best illustration of the cognitive or logical determination of social behaviour. Members of a so-and-so organized kinship group act towards each other in a certain way because of certain 'premises' which direct their thinking processes ('traditions' in the vaguer popular terminology). In the extreme case they conform to a syllogistic statement of roughly this type: my sister's son is identified (in the classificatory kinship system of my culture) with his father, therefore I behave towards my sister's son in the same manner as towards my brother-in-law (p. 96). The sum-total of conceptual and cognitive aspects, the *eidos* of a culture, expresses itself in every province of life, e.g., the *eidos* of the Iatmul is characterized by such feature as a marked bias for intricate abstract problems and sophistic arguments, a proneness to arranging culture data in dualistic schemes, or the general tendency towards ever increasing culture complexity (pp. 220-238).

The *ethos*, on the other hand, appears as a characteristic both of the culture in its totality, and of parts of the culture. It is in the first instance the 'system of 'sentiments' typical of, or 'normal' in, a culture (p. 116): thus the *ethos* of Iatmul culture lays strong emphasis on pride and its gratification by difficult and expensive large-scale enterprise. On the other hand, the *ethos* appears, severally, as *ethos* of men and women, of social classes and generations, or, for example, as the *ethos* which distinguishes the behaviour of novices and initiates in the ceremony of the *naven* (p. 125). Yet this definition of emotional and affective standards valid for a culture implies a vicious circle. I may refer, for the explanation of standardized cultural behaviour, to emotional satisfaction as a possible conditioning factor; but to make this explanation valid I must be able to show that this emotion or sentiment is socially recognized, is 'normal' and therefore effective in the culture—an evidence which can be derived only from the observed standardized behaviour itself. Thus I may say that 'gratification of pride' provides the stimulus for the building of large ceremonial houses among the Iatmul; but this building of large ceremonial houses (and all similar standardized activity) is at the same time a symptom so-to-speak of the cultural recognition or 'normality' of the sentiment of 'pride.' This 'fundamental circularity of phenomena' is present wherever we study 'the internal workings of the functional 'system' of society and culture (p. 117). An ultimate solution lies in the comparison of different cultures and their *ethos*, or rather in the comparison of the expression which similar or identical 'ethoses' find in different cultures (p. 119). I believe myself in the possibility of such comparison and classification of 'ethoses,' i.e., of culture types, but I cannot quite see how mere comparison of functional systems could overcome this methodological difficulty if it were really inherent in every functional system. I said, 'if,' for I doubt this rigid circularity of phenomena. If we limit ourselves strictly to statements of emotional behaviour, the circular argument is reduced to a mere tautology, namely

to the definition of a (presumed) stimulus in terms of an (observable) emotional satisfaction. If, on the other hand, we extend the relations to other contents of culture, there is no circularity at all. The apparent circularity is due only to the attempt to short-circuit a functional system, i.e., a system of interrelation devised essentially for the expression of *indirect* and *multiple* causal connexions, into a *direct* and *simple* causal nexus. As we trace these indirect causal connexions the circularity dissolves itself step by step: we realize, for example, that it may not be the exhibition of pride as such which operates as stimulus, but certain social concessions granted to the 'proud achiever of great things' (e.g., of economic or sexual nature, i.e., concessions which realize values the effectiveness of which we can establish independently). Or, we may view standardized behaviour under the aspect of development and continuous adjustment to standards formulated and upheld by educational and other regulative social institutions. And we may, ultimately, envisage the social recognition of an emotional standard ('pride on great achievements') as a purposeful activity of culture, linking the *ethos* with vital needs and interests of the society.

In the attempt to solve Mr. Bateson's vicious circle we had to dissolve his 'closed system' and to distort the clean side-by-side arrangement of his two aspects, *ethos* and *structure*. We have made the contents of culture work upon the sphere of the *ethos*; we have implied the working of 'developmental' and economic factors—aspects of culture which Mr. Bateson admittedly excluded (p. 266). We have even recognized 'absolute' values and referred to universal or ultimate needs of society. However, I may cite the evidence of Mr. Bateson's own example: to illustrate the circularity of functional phenomena, Mr. Bateson resorts to the simile of a motor-car the engine of which is explained to work in such a way that "the magneto produces electricity because the engine is running, and the engine runs because of the sparks provided by the magneto" (p. 117). But this simile overlooks something: it overlooks the necessity of some initial electric impulse—a charged battery or the winding of the crankshaft. The loophole in this simile—loophole for an initial, independently established source of energy—is indeed typical of society and culture as Mr. Bateson depicts it: a perfectly balanced *perpetuum-mobile-like* machinery which forbids all searching for initial impulses or ultimate utility.

S. F. NADEL.

Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea. By William C. Groves. Melbourne, University Press, 1936. 179 pp. Price 6s.

This work will be welcome both to the scientist interested in the study of culture contact and to the practical man seeking guidance in problems of administration. For the synthesis of these two points of view is the outstanding feature of this excellent book. Throughout, the author emphasizes the need for a clearly defined policy, framed in the light of educational and anthropological theory. But the approach is not academic, for in both fields Mr. Groves possesses valuable practical experience, while his theoretical attack has its headquarters in the field—the ultimate criterion of all sound theory. He does not forget the pragmatic justification for his approach, namely the results already achieved in places as widely separated as Java, Samoa, and Tanganyika (p. 153). And the context of practical problems which must always modify the theorist's Utopia is clearly recognized throughout.

Native education is far more than the mere schooling of children. It must form part of a comprehensive policy

aimed at adapting the whole community to the culture contact situation. The school should be an agency of integration in tribal life rather than a detached and extraneous instrument of cultural disruption. This is to be attained by a closer system of co-ordination between government and missions with the co-operation of economic interests. The aims of such a re-orientated policy may be summed up in the word 'nativization,' carried out along the whole culture contact front. European religion, science, morals, technology, and even recreation must all have their influence on native culture. But they must exert this influence in a manner comprehensible and salutary to the natives, instead of being thrust at him haphazard as the discordant vagaries of the white man, the unholy trinity of Cross, cash and calaboose.

European institutions should replace rather than displace those of the indigenous culture. In the past, the impact of civilization has tended to tear down without building up, and the results of this in New Guinea are poignantly described by the author. Racial melancholia, cultural disruption and individual *malaise* are not presented as pious abstractions, but in terms of the stark tragedy of human suffering. The life of New Guinea communities to-day does not make a pleasant picture, but the isolated and fortuitous cases of successful adjustment convince us that their problems can be solved.

Upon solid foundations of theory and experience Mr. Groves builds up a practical scheme for the future. The value of this to the natives cannot be questioned. Whether it would be acceptable to the conflicting interests on the other side of the culture contact fence is rather less certain. The author's humanistic Christianity would not be acceptable to all missionaries; to tolerate, as he does, such institutions as the *malagan* ceremonies, comes dangerously near to conniving at a breach of the first and second commandments. He does not touch upon the delicate problem of nationality. And, finally, his remark that "there is, on the part of a section of the Europeans in New Guinea, an unreasoning resentment of the influence exerted by the missions on native life" (p. 136) may appear to some as an understatement of a possible source of obstruction, for 'unreasoning resentment' is never a product of partisan prejudice alone—there is always an element of genuine grievance.

But there is no reason why such difficulties should not be overcome. The Government has power to implement a constructive programme of adjustment. More than this, it has a duty to do so, a duty which it would be unwise to shirk, for to-day, more than ever before, League Mandatories are called upon to justify their very existence, and their tenure of that sacred trust of civilization, the well-being of native peoples.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

Ethnology of Futuna. By Edwin G. Burrows. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 138. Honolulu, 1936. 239 pp.

The author of this book, the first comprehensive account of Futuna culture, spent four months on the island and used the vernacular to some extent in collecting his material. The result is a useful, straightforward description of the life of a Polynesian people who, although pious Catholics, have preserved a great many of their old customs. Culture-contact has caused them to abandon their warfare and practically all their ancient religion, but their income from copra is small and the French Government interferes with them only slightly, so that the construction of canoes, the

making of mats and bark cloth and the cultivation of taro are everyday activities.

The author's analysis of the material culture is good, and illustrated by clear diagrams; moreover, it is accompanied by frequent first-hand descriptions of the organization of production. The kinship structure is of the Western Polynesian type, presenting close affinity with that of Tikopia, though the use of *ta'okete* for a senior male sibling is a link with Tonga. An anomalous usage occurs for a sibling of the opposite sex. There is only a single term used by both males and females but, instead of being a form of the usual *kave*, it is *tuanga'ane*, which in all other communities is used by females alone and has some form of *tuafafine* as its complement. Mr. Burrows' evidence, which is very clear, thus provides a further interesting variant in a field already complicated. His account of the kinship grouping, however, careful as it is, does not bring out quite clearly what is the relationship in practice and even in theory between the large 'kindreds' (*kutunga*), and the smaller kin groups (*kainga*) to which he applies the same term, and the households, which, as he points out, are called *kainga* too. More material on authority in the family and household, the relations between brothers and the position of women would have been useful here. Thus it is stated that the claims to land are 'chiefly patrilineal, but may be matrilineal as well,' but this matrilineal interest is not systematically defined. Since, at the instance of the mission, all marriages are now performed only in January (before the author's arrival) and funeral feasts seem to have been abandoned, the institutional aspects of kinship could not be studied from this angle at first-hand. As is to be expected from the author's previous work on the Tuamotus, the section on music and dancing is very clearly and adequately treated. The conclusions drawn from the analysis of the cultural relationships of Futuna are restrained and inspire confidence. The hypothesis of Samoan origins is rejected; it is shown that in spite of frequent contact the direct influence of Tonga and Fiji has been slight, and it is inferred that Futunan culture is probably early Polynesian, and a blend of several migrational elements.

Throughout his book the author, having an eye for significant detail, has preserved the reality of the native life and has given an illuminating account for which the student of comparative Polynesian institutions will be grateful.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition, 1908-1910. II. Ethnographie, B. Mikronesien. Edited by Dr. G. Thilenius. Hamburg, 1936.

44 Band 7, 2 Ponape. By the late Dr. P. Hambrück and Dr. Anneliese Eilers. 386 pp., pl. 10 (one coloured), and text illustrations. Price Rm. 90.

When the first part of Ponape appeared in 1932, Dr. Hambrück was already seriously ill, and his death has postponed the publication of the second. Dr. Anneliese Eilers has, however, admirably completed it from his writings. It describes the social, economic and material culture of Ponape, beginning with the people's own memories of their history and institutions, their social divisions, forms of government, and tribal organization, with the history of particular groups. Next comes the family life, with its matrimonial and other sexual observances, and the life history of the individual from birth to burial. Religion, law, and natural knowledge are no less fully described, with a very interesting group of approximations to the art of writing. Music and dancing, the preparation of *kava*, and other festivals and amusements, food quest, and division of labour, hygiene and personal adornment, dwellings and boats, fishing and snaring of birds and small mammals—with very ingenious trap-warfare weapons, and industrial instruments, have similar sections. More than 350 native texts are printed to illustrate the observers' record, in parallel columns, with German translations, and there are many line-drawings, as well as photographic plates. Band 9, 2 Westkarolinien. By Dr. Anneliese Eilers. 352 pp., plates 15, and text illustrations.

Dr. Eilers' volume completes her account of the Western Carolines and detailed descriptions of Tobi and Ngulu and their history from the time of their discovery in 1710 and 1543 respectively. Ethnographical details are preceded by a brief geographical sketch and anthropological information. To these careful and voluminous descriptions are appended a general discussion of the cultural position of the Western Carolines, a full bibliography, with a list of published maps, and a separate essay by Dr. George Herzog on the *Music of the Caroline Islands*, based on the records in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, with the melodies transcribed in European notation.

These handsome volumes are a worthy contribution to the great series which has occupied Dr. Thilenius and his colleagues so long. It will be remembered that the first volume was published in 1913.

J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Freudian Symbolism in the Dream of a Saulteaux Indian.

45 Sir,—In his Huxley Memorial Lecture, *Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory*, J.R.A.I. LXII (1932), p. 215, Prof. Seligman (1) pointed out that we already have "hints indicating that certain substances and objects have the same value in the unconscious of savages as the psychoanalysts attribute to 'them in Europeans.'" The example he cited was the association of faeces and money among Melanesians and West Africans; to which J. S. Lincoln, *The Dream in Primitive Cultures*, 1935, pp. 107-8, added additional cases from other parts of the world. A striking instance of an identical association, in which money is unconsciously identified with faeces, occurs in the dream of a Saulteaux Indian.

Last summer, in the course of a field trip to the Berens River Saulteaux (Manitoba, Canada), I was travelling up the river to a small fishing settlement, located about 100 miles east of Lake Winnipeg. One morning I asked

W.B. whether he had dreamed anything the night before. The dream he reported was as follows: "I dreamed I was walking on snow shoes. It must have been in the spring because there was not much snow on the ground. I was travelling with a boy. I sighted a camp but there was no one in sight. Then I heard the sound of chopping in the bush. As we came closer a man appeared. This man handed me some money, over one hundred dollars in bills. I could see an X on some of them. But the bills were the colour of that (pointing to my sleeping bag, which was yellow-brown in hue). This man also gave me some silver and I gave some of it to the boy. I asked whether this was all right and the man said 'yes'."

I asked W.B. what he thought the dream meant. He said it might indicate that he would catch a fox the next winter. He inferred this from the colour of the bills, which he thought was so inexplicable.

The Freudian symbolism in this dream is so transparent that it needs no further comment. On account of

the colour of my sleeping bag it could hardly have been more forcibly emphasized. Moreover, the importance of the colour of the bills in the mind of the dreamer was further demonstrated by (a) the fact that he seized upon it immediately as the basis of his own interpretation of the dream's meaning, in which case the fox skin of the same colour as the bills in the dream means money (in exchange), and (b) his reiterated comment that it was so strange that the bills were not of the ordinary (green) colour.

I may add that the dreamer could not identify either the man or the boy in the dream. The latter, he said, was about eleven years of age. When I explained the Freudian symbolism, he seemed in no way resistant to the idea.

A possible interpretation of the general tenor of the dream as a whole might be this: W.B., who is about 70 years of age, has been my interpreter and mentor during several summers of field work. He has become rather tired of the work, however, and rationalizes this by telling me that I have already written down all I need to know. Here he was then starting off on another trip, though it was to be a relatively short one. This dream is probably the expression of repressed aggression towards me. I was the man he failed to recognize, a possibility that was further precluded by transposing the season to winter. I gave him the money, which approximated the amount he would earn, but this money was also faeces, metaphorically speaking. I have more than once heard him use the vernacular term in respect to tasks he disliked performing. At the same time, since we have been close friends, he could not turn me down, and he needed the money, as well. But he was not anticipating a pleasurable trip, because internally he very much resisted going. Besides, the journey up the river is not an easy one. There are 50 portages in 100 miles and W.B. has been accustomed to do his share of the carrying, besides the cooking. Then when we are encamped there are (to him) the endless inquiries and hours of translating what other people have to say. Thus while the interpretation I have given may be regarded as tentative, the use of the Freudian symbolism does make the dream intelligible in terms of the circumstances in which it occurred. No doubt it had further meanings as well, which would require more expertness and detailed associational data to unravel.

A. IRVING HALLOWELL.

University of Pennsylvania.

Relation Between a Prehistoric Transcaucasian and a Modern Egyptian Amulet.

46 **SUB.**—The modern Egyptian amulet of iron, represented in Fig. 1, shows two symmetrical spirals twisted outwards. This talisman is considered as efficacious against infant diarrhoea which belief is however, confirmed by the name itself of the amulet *hazza'a* ('pressing').¹ Some authors² pretend that the amulet is destined to prevent the child from crying, but they take the result for the cause. In order that it may be efficacious, it should be made by a 'blacksmith, son of a blacksmith back to the seventh generation' (*haddad ibn haddad li sabi' gidd*).³ M. Deonna⁴ has already drawn attention to the fact that this talisman is an ancient one in Africa and in the Mediterranean regions, without, however, referring to the existence thereof in Ancient Egypt. This lacuna has recently been filled by the publication of M. L. Keimer,⁵ on a twisted amulet in bronze, of the Pharaonic Period, preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (Fig. 2). We have therefore proof that the modern amulet has its origin in ancient times.

Fig. 3 represents a form resembling Fig. 1, but the

spirals are twisted inwards. Actually, I have rarely observed it worn by children. There is a specimen of this form in the Ethnographical Museum of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt, and another in my collection. Its magic power is equal to that of form 1.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

It is very interesting to note the existence of this last form in the Hallstatt Period of the Early Iron Age. Fig. 4 represents an example found at Helenendorf, Elisabethpol Government, Transcaucasia, which J. de Morgan denominates 'pendentif'.⁶ Can it be an amulet of the Iron Period?



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

The object of this note is simply to draw the attention of ethnologists to the antiquity, proved by Keimer, of the modern Egyptian *hazza'a* and to show the astonishing resemblance between Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 in form and material.

CHARLES A. BACHATLY.

¹ Ch. Bachatly, *Notes sur quelques amulettes égyptiennes* (2^e série), in *Bull. Soc. Roy. Géographie d'Égypte*, xvii, p. 183-184.

² Miss W. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, London, 1927, p. 80; W. Deonna, *Amulettes de l'Égypte contemporaine*, in *Revue d'Éthnographie et des Traditions populaires*, vii (1927), p. 241.

³ Ch. Bachatly, *Notes sur quelques amulettes égyptiennes* in *Bull. Soc. Roy. Géographie d'Égypte*, xvii, p. 58.

⁴ W. Deonna, l.c., p. 241; Bellucci, *Parallèles ethnographiques Amulettes. Libye actuelle. Italie ancienne*. Pérouse, 1915, p. 75 et 79; G. Marro, *Nuove incisioni rupestri in Italia (Valcamonica)*, in *Bulletin de Égypte*, t. xvi, 1934, p. 795.

⁵ L. Keimer, *Une amulette de l'Égypte ancienne*, in *Bull. Soc. Roy. Géographie d'Égypte*, xviii, p. 83-84; Gaillard et Daresny, *La faune momifiée de l'Antique Égypte*, Le Caire, 1905, p. 30.

⁶ J. de Morgan, *La Préhistoire orientale*, Paris, 1927, iii, p. 310, Fig. 315 (10); B. Couraieff, *Objets égyptiens et égyptisants trouvés dans la Russie méridionale*, in *Rev. Arch.*, 4^e série, xvii, p. 20.





1



2



3



4

TWO SKULLS FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

1-3 male: 2-4 female: about one-third natural size.

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Physical Anthropology.

With Plate D.

Buxton, Trevor, Julien.

SKELETAL REMAINS FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. By L. H. Dudley Buxton, J. C. Trevor and Alvarez H. Julien. From the Department of Human Anatomy, University of Oxford. (With Plate D.)

47 In February, 1936, while engaged in field work among the Negroes of the Eastern Caribbean (conducted during the tenure of a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship in Anthropology at Northwestern University, and with the assistance of a research grant from Northwestern and Columbia Universities), Trevor was able to collect the remains of some of the early inhabitants of the Virgin Islands which had been discovered in the course of the preceding two years on Water Island, near St. Thomas, by Julien.¹ Originally, the burials of about twenty-one persons were recorded as lying at a depth of from two to three feet below the surface, in direct association with shells of the giant conch (*Strombus gigas*) and other gasteropods, small animal bones, probably those of the Indian coney (*Capromys brachyurus*), lumps of a red ochreous substance, stone implements and pottery, the last of which is discussed by Professor Gudmund Hatt of Copenhagen in MAN, 1938, 48. The skeletons were reinterred in 1934 and 1935, after the accompanying objects had been removed. In 1936 it was unfortunately impossible to locate more than seven, despite the expenditure of much energy in shifting several tons of sand under which they then lay. To this number can be added the occipital bone of an eighth individual, found on one of the two sites from which the rest of the remains were obtained. A rough survey of these sites was carried out during their excavation, and the positions of the skeletons at times of first discovery and final removal were ascertained as accurately as possible. An account of the relevant facts, together with details of orientation and such artefacts as could be associated with particular burials, is being prepared by Julien and Trevor (1938), and copies of it will be deposited in the Department of Human Anatomy at Oxford and in the St. Thomas Public Library.

For our immediate purpose it is enough to say that the remains of respectively five and three persons were recovered a few yards from the foreshore of two inlets known locally as Landing Bay

Both bays are situated on the north-west coast of Water Island, which fronts the northern shores of St. Thomas by the Gregerie Channel. They lie between Landing Bay and Tamarind Tree Bay, and are shown, but not named, on U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey charts. Landing Bay being the first large inlet south-west, and Tamarind Tree Bay the second. The name of Elephant Bay, the name of which appears on the chart.

The skulls (mostly incomplete), humeri, pelvic fragments, sacra, femora and calcanea of seven individuals—five fully grown, one an adolescent, and one a child aged about eleven—and the occipital bone of an eighth, apparently mature, are now in the Oxford collection. Measurements of the crania, which have been restored by Buxton, and femora, with the exception of those of the child, are given in Tables 1 and 2. In view of the scanty material with which we have to deal, it is not

¹ Through the kindness of the Hon. Lawrence W. Cramer, Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States, permission was obtained for the material to be excavated and sent to England. It has been presented to the University Museum at Oxford by our collaborator Mr. Julien of St. Thomas, of whose courtesy in placing his finds with us for examination we are anxious to make the fullest acknowledgment.—L.H.D.B., J.C.T.

to be supposed that a consideration of the metrical characters can yield anything more than the most tentative results, but as no ancient remains from the Virgin Islands have to our knowledge yet been described, we present them without apology.² The two most perfect skulls, Am. 40.1.1♂ and Am. 40.1.2♀, are illustrated in Plate D.

Catalogue Number	Age and Sex	<i>L</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B'</i>	<i>H'</i>	<i>S</i> ₁	<i>S</i> ₂	<i>S</i> ₃	<i>S</i> ₁	<i>S</i> ₂	<i>S</i> ₃	<i>S</i>	Bregmatic <i>Q'</i>	<i>U</i>
Am. 40.1.1	Adult ♂	176	131.5	98.7	134	109.1	122.0	88.6	125	142	104	371	310	498
Am. 40.1.2	Adult ♀	170	130	87.9	126	102.9	106.9	84.0	116.5	120	96.5	333	291	476
Am. 40.1.3	Adult ♂	170.5	134.5?	99.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	309?	491?
Am. 40.1.4	Young ♂	186.5	138.5	98.2	142	114.1	129.4	101.1	133.5	146.5	115	395	323	522
Am. 40.1.5	Adult ♂	185?	138.5	—	140.5?	114.3?	120.4?	97.1	132?	135?	111	378	—	—
Am. 40.1.6	Adult ♂	182.5	141.5?	95.9	138	113.2	117.4	95.0	129.5	133.5	109	372	316?	518?

Catalogue Number	Age and Sex	<i>fml</i>	<i>fmb</i>	<i>LB</i>	<i>GL</i>	<i>G'H</i>	<i>GB</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>NH, L</i>	<i>NB</i>	<i>O</i> ₁ , <i>L</i>	<i>O</i> ₂ , <i>L</i>	<i>G</i> ₁	<i>G</i> ₂
Am. 40.1.1	Adult ♂	35.3	29.5	97.8	105.7	59.3	97.4	132	43.4	30.3	43.6	30.8	49.7	42.7
Am. 40.1.2	Adult ♀	33.9	27.7	99.4	109.8	63.4	93.9	124	45.0	26.6	37.3	28.5	51.0	40.9
Am. 40.1.3	Adult ♂	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Am. 40.1.4	Young ♂	38.7	32.6	97.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Am. 40.1.5	Adult ♂	37.1	32.5	100.6	—	—	—	—	50.1?	22.0	40.9	—	—	—
Am. 40.1.6	Adult ♂	38.3	26.7	104.4	102.8?	65.6	—	—	50.7	28.1	42.4	35.5	—	—

Catalogue Number	Age and Sex	$\frac{100}{B}$ $\frac{100}{L}$	$\frac{100}{H'}$ $\frac{100}{L}$	$\frac{100}{B}$ $\frac{100}{H'}$	<i>Oc. I.</i>	$\frac{100}{fmb}$ $\frac{100}{fml}$	$\frac{100}{G'H}$ $\frac{100}{GB}$	$\frac{100}{NB}$ $\frac{100}{NH'}$ <i>L</i>	$\frac{100}{O_2}$ $\frac{100}{O_1}$ <i>L</i>	$\frac{100}{G_2}$ $\frac{100}{G_1}$	<i>N</i> ∠	<i>A</i> ∠	<i>B</i> ∠
Am. 40.1.1	Adult ♂	74.7	76.1	98.1	62.2	83.6	60.9	69.8	70.6	85.9	80°-6	65°-9	33°-5
Am. 40.1.2	Adult ♀	76.5	74.1	103.2	65.1	81.7	67.5	59.1	76.4	80.2	81°-5	63°-7	34°-8
Am. 40.1.3	Adult ♂	78.9?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Am. 40.1.4	Young ♂	74.3	76.1	97.5	66.9	84.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Am. 40.1.5	Adult ♂	74.9?	75.9?	98.6?	66.0	87.6	—	43.9?	—	—	—	—	—
Am. 40.1.6	Adult ♂	77.5?	75.6	102.5?	65.4	69.7	—	55.4	83.7	—	70°-1?	73°-1?	36°-8?

TABLE 1.—MEASUREMENTS OF CRANIA FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Catalogue Number	Age and Sex	Femur, <i>L</i>	Femur, <i>R</i>	Stature
Am. 40.1.1	Adult ♂	448	446	1652
Am. 40.1.2	Adult ♀	437	439	1582
Am. 40.1.5	Adult ♂	423	422	1606
Am. 40.1.6	Adult ♂	441	442	1644

TABLE 2.—MEASUREMENTS OF FEMORA FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

The maximum length of the femur, left and right, was taken, with the bone resting on the horizontal surface of the osteometer, the measurements of the right side being used to reconstruct stature from the formulae provided by Pearson (1898).

² An imperfect female calotte, excavated by the late Theodor de Booy at Magens Bay, St. Thomas, is in the warehouse of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye

Foundation, at Brooklyn, New York, and we understand that Professor Hatt has in his possession some skeletal material from St. Croix, one of the Virgin group.

Definitions of the points and planes used in taking the cranial measurements have been given by Buxton and Morant (1933), those of the characters themselves being as follows:—*L*, maximum glabella-occipital length in median sagittal plane; *B*, maximum breadth in transverse plane; *B'*, maximum breadth between supra-orbital diameter between supra-orbital ridges; *H'*, bregmatic height; *S*₁, arc, nasion to bregma; *S*₂, arc, nasion to bregma; *S*₃, arc, lambda to opisthion; *S*, arc, nasion to opisthion; Bregmatic *Q'*, biparietal arc through bregma; *U*, maximum horizontal circumference above supraciliary ridges and through most projecting part of occiput; *fml*, length, basion to opisthion; *fmb*, maximum breadth of *foramen magnum*; *LB*, chord, nasion to basion; *GL*, chord,

basion to alveolar point; $G'H$, chord, nasion to alveolar point; GB , breadth, zygomaxillare to zygomaxillare; J , maximum bizygomatic breadth; NH , L , height, nasion to lowest point on left inferior margin of pyriform aperture; NB , maximum breadth of pyriform aperture; O_1 , L , maximum breadth of left orbit from maxillo-frontale; O_2 , L , maximum height of left orbit perpendicular to O_1 , L ; G_1' , length, staphylion to orale; G_2 , breadth between mid-points on inner alveolar margins

of second molars. With the exception of the Occipital Index ($Oc. I.$), viz. $100 \frac{S_2}{S_3} \sqrt{\frac{S_3}{24(S_2 - S_3)'}}$, the values of

which were found from the table published by Tildesley (1921), the indices need not be defined. The nasal, alveolar and basal angles, N , Al and B_L , subtended by the sides GL , LB and $G'H$ of the fundamental triangle, were determined with the aid of Pearson's trigonometery.

The problem of Antillean cultural affiliations has recently been dealt with by Dr. Charlotte Gower (1927), who states that in 1492 at least three populations, possessing as many fairly distinct cultures, occupied the West Indies. These are usually referred to as the Ciboney, Taino (Arawak) and Carib. At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Ciboney were living in the extreme west of Cuba and Haiti. In the Lesser Antilles, of which the Virgins form the western extremity, it is known from archaeological evidence that the Caribs superseded an earlier agricultural population, supposed to be related to the Taino of the larger islands and sometimes called the Ygneri. The Caribs themselves seem to have distinguished between Taino and Ygneri.

While not wishing to commit himself to a definite opinion regarding the pottery associated with the Water Island burials, Professor Hatt nevertheless supposes it to be Ygneri. Owing to the lack of any detailed descriptions of the physical type of the Antillean aborigines which might afford comparative material, we are unable to add anything substantial to the argument from the skulls. It is interesting to observe, however, that none of the specimens now considered displays the slightest sign of artificial cranial deformation, a common practice among both Taino and Carib, though its absence has been noted by Gower (1927). The high cephalic index of the individuals described by Gower is noted, the general tendency of the skulls being towards brachycephaly.

We feel that it is necessary to make some observations concerning the skulls illustrated in Plate D. Had they been presented to the first two of us without indication of provenance, we should, on the basis of their high nasal indices and marked prognathism, hardly have hesitated to suggest that they were Negroid. (Two other

skulls of which the facial skeletons are more or less intact do not show these features to such an extreme degree.) But the circumstances under which they were found—Am. 40.1.1 with two celts at the level of the ribs and Am. 40.1.2 with the handled vessel figured by Professor Hatt over the face—seem to argue against the likelihood of secondary interment after the introduction of Negro slaves in the 17th century. While admitting that the conditions of their final recovery were far from ideal, we are inclined provisionally to accept a pre-Columbian date for the remains as a whole. It is perhaps not without significance that Sir William Flower (1895) commented on the 'Negroid' characteristics of two out of a number of Jamaican crania of undoubted Indian origin examined by him. This series was subsequently measured by Dr. Haddon, who mentions the occurrence of considerable variation in the values of the nasal indices in his 'Note on the Craniology of the Aborigines of Jamaica' (Duerden, 1897). Additional human material from the Virgin Islands may elucidate the problems arising from the present discussion.

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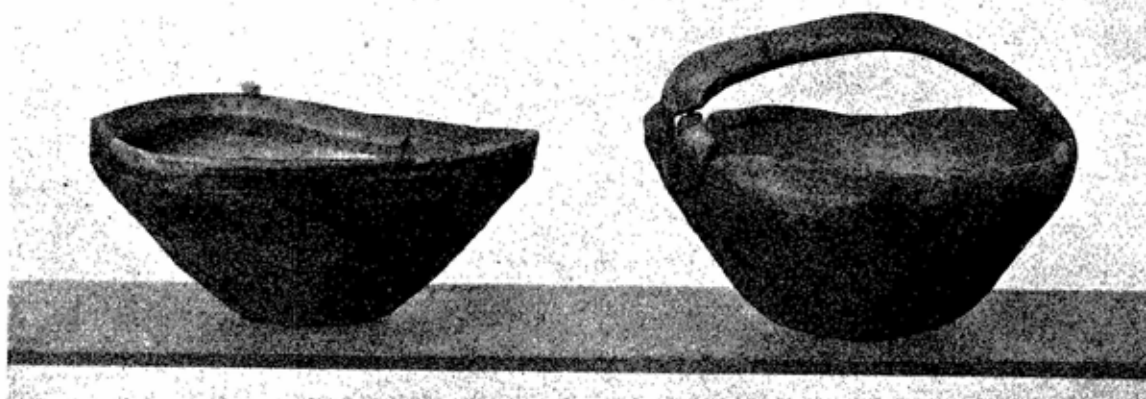


FIG. 1. CLAY VESSELS FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

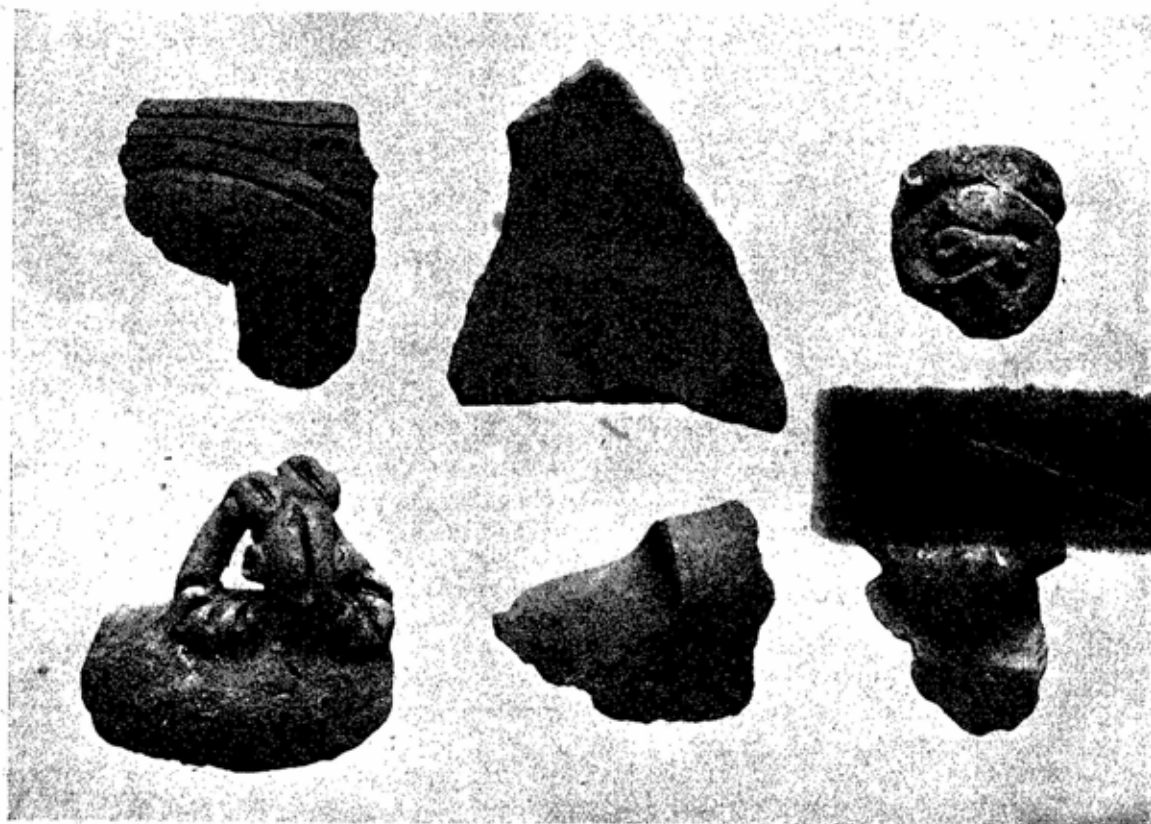


FIG. 2. POTSHERDS FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

ON POTTERY FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. *By Professor Gudmund Hatt, D.Phil., Copenhagen. Illustrated.*

48 Mr. J. C. Trevor has sent me for inspection two clay vessels and six potsherds, excavated by Mr. Alvarez H. Julien at Landing Bay and Tamarind Tree Bay on Water Island, near St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. As represented in Figs. 1 and 2, the clay vessels are about a half, and the sherds nearly two-thirds, natural size.

These objects are without any doubt of pre-Columbian Indian origin. They remind one of the ceramics found on the Indian site at Magens Bay, St. Thomas, *e.g.*, the handle on the extreme left of the lower row in Fig. 2, shaped like an animal head with two fore-paws, bears a strong resemblance to Fig. 26 in the monograph on the archaeology of the Virgin Islands by the late Theodor de Booy (1919). The sherd in the middle of the upper row in Fig. 2 is part of a flat bowl or plate, painted red inside and with broad lines of a dirty yellow colour. This sort of ornamentation is not uncommonly met with on the Indian sites at Magens Bay, St. Thomas, and Salt River, St. Croix, and is also found on other Indian sites in the Virgin Islands. The small bowl on the right of Fig. 1 is unique in having a flat handle across it for carrying, suggesting that of a basket; there seems to have been an ornamental head at the end of this handle near the rim on the left, where the vessel is defective. The other bowl is more common and might have come from almost any Indian site in the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Trevor has also sent me photographs of stone objects and additional pottery from Water Island. It is rather difficult to use the photographs as material for study, as the scale is too small. However, a few of the stone objects seem to be 'three-pointers,' and some of the pottery is very reminiscent of types I have found on Indian sites at Longford and Sprat Hall, St. Croix (*cf.*, Hatt, 1924, Plate IV, Fig. 6). These types probably belong to a period somewhat earlier than the end of the Indian occupation of the islands.

Mr. Julien's find is of considerable interest, because no Indian site has hitherto been known to exist on Water Island. I suspected in 1923 that Water Island would have been a proper place for an Indian settlement, and indeed spent several hours there, but did not succeed in finding any site. Judging from the photographs, I have the impression that the cultures at Landing Bay and Tamarind Tree Bay are alike. As to the vexed question whether the Water Island pottery is Arawak or Carib, I do not care to be too definite. I am inclined to think, however, that it antedates the Carib invasion and is probably Ignierian, *i.e.* Arawak.

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A NOTE ON RAIN-MAKERS AMONG THE MORO. *By E. E. Evans Pritchard. Illustrated.*

49 The Moro are one of the members of the Moro-Madi linguistic group (Moro, Madi, Kaliko, Abukaya, Logo, Lendu, and Lugbwara). The Moro live immediately to the west of the Bahr el Jebel, on the west bank of the (Madi) Province of the early part of the month working under conditions, and the data recorded is slight. I feel, however, that it should be published because we know little about the Moro-Madi group.

All Moro rain-makers belong to the Bōri clan. They are sometimes referred to as Moro Bōri. They have other magical functions besides rain-making and some of their practices were, at the time of my visit, regarded as subversive

by the local administration. Four members of the clan were in prison and others had been penalized earlier. It was therefore difficult to investigate their rain-making techniques in the short time at my disposal.

My informant, Mosala, lives at Bōrōriba, though his family came from Kariba. I believe he no longer makes rain. His father was a man of importance. His brother, Adulla, was in 1927 the best known rain-maker in the district.

Mosala told me that if there was no rain when rain was needed for the cultivations several Bōri would go to the grave of an important rain-maker and there wash their faces with water from a pot and call on Lu, the Supreme Being, for rain. Their leader then takes a

length of *kwono* creeper, dips it in the pot, and scatters the water into the air, calling for rain. Mosala said that rain always fell shortly after this rite had been performed.

The rain-maker Mogia of Kariba (fig. 1), an old man who had been a soldier in Egyptian Government times, told me that to make rain he cuts the throat of a fowl over the grave of an important rain-maker, named Kiluba. He also washes his face from a pot of water and sprinkles water on the grave with a length of *kwono* creeper. Kiluba's grave is a simple mound and is surrounded by the graves of members of his family. In the



FIG. 1. MOGIA.



FIG. 2. LABI.

dry season the grasses and shrubs near the graves are not burnt like the surrounding bush (fig 3). Care is taken to protect them against fire, for it is said that were they to be burnt there would be drought.

An old man called Labi (fig. 2) of Wooniba enjoys a reputation for rain-making. He took me to see his rain-pot. He used to keep this pot at the back of his hut, but his goats and chickens drank out of it and when people ate them they became sick. He therefore removed it to the shade of a tree nearby. This tree was cut down during government road-making and it was thought that its disappearance might affect the rainfall. As we walked along the path from Labi's homestead to the new road he showed me the *kwono* creeper which he uses for making rain. The pot was lying in the burnt grass at the side

of the road. Labi expressed disapproval that the grass had been burnt. He then showed me how he cuts the throat of a fowl over the pot; washes his face in the water contained in it; dips a length of *kwono* creeper into the water and flings it into the air; and finally pours the remainder of the water on the ground. After the ceremony the pot remains with its mouth upwards during the rains, whereas it is placed



FIG. 3. GRAVES WITH PROTECTED GRASS AND SHRUBS.

upside down performing these the people rain makes rain at the completely dries up even at the height of the dry season.

Not all members of the Böri clan make rain. A rain-maker teaches the art to only one of his kinsmen, usually his eldest son, though sometimes a younger son or a brother's son. But all members of the clan have Lu in them and are therefore in some degree holy. Lu gave them special powers when he created them. Labi said that

Özuongo was the first of the Böri. He cried out repeatedly in his mother's womb and she had to beat on a gourd to calm him. One day, when an infant, he was placed on the ground, and suddenly changed into a leopard and ran into the bush. After a while he returned but his mother was frightened and would have driven him away if his father had not dissuaded her, saying that the child must be given milk for it was the work of Lu. When his mother gave him milk he resumed the shape of an infant. Labi's father and brother were both born with tails which their mothers cut off, bathing the wounds with water. Özuongo and other Böri are said to have been able, without exertion, to cut through large stones with a knife. Labi gave his ascent:—Labi—Baleri—Gweri—Omani—Özuongo—Tidri.

The Böri exercise magical powers which are, to some degree at any rate, used as moral sanctions. Apaya, my first informant, complained to the local administrator that several Böri had blown magic whistles to kill him. Although judgment was given in favour of Apaya it was divulged in court that the Böri had acted with the knowledge of chief Warangwa and his sons and that magic had been made against Apaya because he was committing adultery with people's wives. Apaya admitted to me that the Böri do not use magic without good cause, and I was told the same by other Moro. The rain-maker Mosali said that if a man stole the cow of another the owner would complain to a prominent Böri who would blow his magic whistle against the thief. When the thief fell sick he would send to the Böri to be cured, but they would not assist him till he had returned the stolen cow. He would then put water on the sick man to cure him and would take a cow and some spears in payment for his services.

to avenge adultery
sufficient respect for
adultery with
if he found one
he would blow his
magic whistle and she would fall sick to the ground.
He would leave her in this state for a while and
would then throw water over her and she would be
well again. He said that he would act likewise
on behalf of other husbands if he received a fee.

In the past the Böri in virtue of their holiness seem to have acted as arbitrators between disputants and it was the custom for men to lay aside their arms in the presence of a Böri.

The Böri are said to have organized occasional gatherings at which the whole population of southern Moroland met. At these gatherings the men used to pile their weapons in the centre of an important Böri's homestead. The Böri then sat in a circle round the weapons and the people in an outer circle facing the Böri. The senior Böri cut the throat of a fowl and daubed the blood on several men and told them to fetch meat, termites, honey, beer, and so forth, for the Böri and the people to eat.

As a sign of their ritual status the Böri used to wear their hair long and did not wash the upper part of their bodies. Since they have been penalised they have ceased to show distinctive marks. Their holiness makes them dangerous, and there is always a risk if a man eats or drinks with a Böri or sleeps on his bed. If a man eats with a Böri who is not a member of his household, he afterwards throws away the wood of the fire on which the food was cooked and the vessels from which the Böri ate and drank. Mosali said that a man who habitually ate and drank with him was in no danger but that a stranger who did so might fall sick unless he sprinkled water over him. A man who falls sick from this cause goes to a *tendriba*, or diviner, who tells him that Lu has entered into him. He then recollects that some time before, even several years before, he slept on the same bed or ate out of the same vessel as a Böri.

Another informant, Adiki, said that sometimes the wife of a Böri would become deranged and, tearing the leaves from before and behind her, disappear into the bush. People would ask the husband what he had done to his wife to cause her to act in this way and he would reply that he had done nothing to her but that Lu had entered into her. The husband summons other Böri and they dip grass into fat and blow on the fat and daub the woman's forehead with it. Afterwards they kill an ox and rub some of the blood on her forehead.

When I asked Labi how he treated persons who became sick through association with him he took me to the back of his hut where he kept a number of pots and gourds. Taking a pot in his hand he said that when Lu entered into a man, the man would cut the throats of several fowls to discover by divination which Böri was responsible. If he found that Labi was responsible he would bring gifts of a bar of iron and some arrows. He would sleep at Labi's home and

in the early morning Labi would take a pot of water, kill a fowl over it, and throw with his hands some of the water over the sick man. He would then take some fat from a gourd, spit on it, and rub it on the sick man's chest. When the sickness leaves the man it enters into Labi but he takes an old spear-head from one of his pots and rubs his sides with it.

As Labi's sons were with us I asked him whether he had taught his art to one tall son. He replied that he had taught him much of the art but whenever the youth cured a man he became so sick himself that he had to give up practising it. Another youth, a son of one of Labi's brothers, was learning the art instead.

If a man becomes possessed by Lu in this way he may sometimes practice as a rain-maker. Thus Mogia, the rain-maker at Kariba, is not a Böri but he lived with Kiluba, a Böri rain-maker and Lu entered into him. He said that his arms and legs 'died' and that when he tried to rise water poured from his head. If he tried to raise a foot, water poured from his foot. He was in this state for two years and was then cured by a number of Böri who killed an ox and made a feast. He was afterwards associated with Kiluba in rain-making and when Kiluba died Mogia made rain at his grave.

The Böri are credited with other strange powers. It is believed that they can send leopards to kill their enemies. If a man fears that a Böri may try to kill him in this way he sacrifices a fowl on the path to his homestead so that leopards may not approach. I have heard it said that were a man to raise his arm to strike a Böri the bystanders would seize him. Adiki told me that a Böri can make magic to prevent a man from rising and to make him cry out like a madman. He can only be cured by a number of Böri sacrificing goats and fowls at his homestead and throwing water on him. A boy told me that a man who committed adultery with the wife of a Böri might be made to walk on all fours. He said that he had seen a man in this plight.

The rain-making clan of the Böri is found only in southern Moro country, among the Moro-Endri, in the neighbourhood of Kariba and Wooniba, and perhaps among the Moro Oggi. They are not found in northern Moro country among the Moro Mise and Moro Kederu. This distribution accounts for the fact that the late Dr. K. G. Fraser, who lived in Moro Mise country, had, as he told

me, not come across the Böri. He does not mention them in his paper on Moro magicians: 'Witchcraft and Healing in the Moro Tribe,' *The Mission Hospital*, July, 1926. Although all the Moro peoples speak the same language¹ the presence of the Böri among the southern sections only suggests that originally these two sections may have belonged to a different culture, especially as their rain-making technique is similar to that of neighbouring peoples to the south and west of them. Greater force is given to this suggestion by the absence in the south of megalithic graves which are the most striking feature of Moro Mise and, to a lesser extent, of Moro Kederu culture.²

It is of interest also to note that the Moro do not possess rain-stones, since these have been recorded³ from two peoples of the Moro-Madi linguistic group, the Lugwara and the Madi. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that our authority for the Lugwara states that they originally obtained their rain-stones from the Bari³, and the Lugwara rain-stones collected by Mr. Driberg came from the same people.⁴ To-day, the Madi make rain by means of rain-stones but the evidence recorded by Mr. Rogers points to the conclusion that this technique was learnt from the Bari and that the earliest rain-stones were imported from Bariland.⁵ By 'Bari' is here understood those peoples who speak the Bari tongue. Rain-stones have not yet been recorded among the Kaliko, Abukaya, Logo, and Lendu, so it may be assumed, on our present information, that until recently rain-making by means of stones was unknown among the Moro-Madi group of peoples. There is evidence that the Moro have settled in their present home in recent times and that previously the Bongo-Mittu-Baka group and the Bari-speaking peoples were coterminous. The latter point to the same

¹ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Amadi and Rumbek Records*, 1937.

² E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Remarks in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and other parts of East Africa,' *Antiquity*, 1935.

³ R. E. McConnell, 'Notes on the Lugwari Tribe of Central Africa,' *J.R.A.I.*, 1925.

⁴ A photograph of them appears in C. G. Seligman, 'Some little-known Tribes of the Southern Sudan,' *J.R.A.I.*, 1925.

⁵ F. H. Rogers, 'Notes on Some Madi Rain-stones,' *MAN*, 1927, 58.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

The Machines of Primitive Peoples. *Summary of a Communication presented by Mr. Adrian Digby, 8 March, 1938.*

The machinery of primitive peoples has had scanty attention from anthropologists. The author therefore attempted to outline the problems governing their development.

The essential problem is to convert and guide the movements of four prime movers into channels whereby they would perform useful work.

Man-power, capable of very complicated movements, tended towards reciprocating action as a result of constant repetition and less need for mus-

cular control. It was used principally for light work, because heavy work, entailing the use of man 'tractively' was inefficient. Animals, on the other hand, could only be used tractively or in conjunction with gravity, necessitated a rotary machine in which the prime mover was attached to the end of a beam, the other end of which was pivoted. Water was applied through weighted levers, or wheels, in which case power was transmitted either by cams or gearing.

The following table classifies the machines used by primitive peoples according to the nature of the prime mover, and according to the means of conversion employed.

NATURE OF MOTION OF PRIME MOVER, AND METHOD OF APPLICATION.	(1) STATIONARY MAN POWER. (i) Hand. (ii) Foot.		(2) MAN OR ANIMAL POWER COMBINED WITH GRAVITY.	(3) MAN OR ANIMAL POWER USED TRACTIVELY.	(4) WATER POWER.	(5) WIND POWER.
A. RECIPROCATING OR UNIDIRECTIONAL MOTION:						
(a) Not converted, but guided by nature of apparatus.	Fire-plough. Fire-saw. Metate. Pestle and mortar. Bellows. Looms. Rocking churn.					
(b) Converted into a different direction by a (wedge).	Chinese bean press. Use of wedge for lifting weights, or splitting wood.					
(c) Converted into greater or less power by a (lever).	S. American Indian sugar-cane press.		Beam-pestle.	Shaduf. Cassava squeezer.	Beam pestle.	
(d) Reciprocating motion converted to a rotary motion by friction of a flat surface on a (roller).	Rolling string on thigh. Rolling spindle on thigh (sometimes with fly-wheel). Spinning spindle between fingers. Twirling method of making fire or drilling. Roller-stamps (bearing). Cotton-seeding with roller.					
(e) Converted by a cord round a spindle (ultimately, pulley) into rotary motion. (arle and bearing).	Strap drill. Strap lathe. Bow drill. Bow lathe. Burr drill. Spindle. Twister. Mill. Pulley. Rope. Wheel. Cotton gin. Screw pump.		Double-treadle lathe. Pole-lathe. (Spring).			
(g) Applied to the circumference of a wheel, either continuously or intermittently, and converted to rotary motion. (arle and bearing).	Potter's wheel.		Potter's wheel.	Treadmill operated screw pump. Chain pump. Chain of pots over drum. Dog turnspit.	Vertical shafted mill. Horizontal shafted wheel for water raising. Chain pump. (Pulley). Horizontal shafted wheel, working quern. (Gearing).	Persian vertical windmill.

NATURE OF MOTION OF PRIME MOVER, AND METHOD OF APPLICATION.	(1) STATIONARY MAN POWER. (i) Hand. (ii) Foot.	(2) MAN OR ANIMAL POWER COMBINED WITH GRAVITY.	(3) MAN OR ANIMAL POWER USED TRACTIVELY.	(4) WATER POWER.	(5) WIND POWER.
g.1) Applied to the circumference of a wheel, and reconverted to reciprocating motion by a (cam.)				Pestles worked by water - wheel and cam. Water operated bellows. (Spring). Tilt hammer.	
B. ROTARY MOTION: (a) Combined with eccentric weight. (axle and bearing.)	Tibetan prayer wheel. Eskimo string-maker. New Guinea drill.				
(b) Traction through a pulley beam. (axle and bearing.)			Quern, Roman type. Oil press. (Wheel). Oil press. (Lever). Chain pumps. (Gearing). (Pulley).		

The author drew attention to the large number of machines worked by man-power, in relation to comparatively few operated by animal, wind, and water power. It appeared that there was a case for the view that most of the latter were diffused from some comparatively civilized source fairly recently. But there were other apparatus which had every appearance of being purely indigenous inventions. A great deal of work would have to be done before any definite conclusions could be drawn on this point.

Kinship and Ritual in North-East Malekula.

51 Summary of a communication by Mr. John Layard. 22 March, 1938.

Since the discovery by Deacon of a six-class system of kinship in Ambrim, little has been contributed from this field, and the understanding of class systems in general has been obscure to all but a few experts on account of the very technical and highly specialized way in which they have hitherto been presented.

To simplify the study of such systems and present them in such a way that not only anthropologists but also intelligent laymen could easily grasp them, use is made of circular diagrams in which the two main elements going to build up these systems, namely those of matrilineal and patrilineal descent, are clearly seen in their interaction on one another, without resorting to abstract mathematical formulae. Other simple diagrams illustrate the working of four- and eight-class systems of Australian type, but the main body of Mr. Layard's communication deals with the class-systems of the Northern New Hebrides. Here the class-systems are asymmetrical, owing to a tripartite arrangement of clans or kinship-sections. Thus, in Ambrim the class system is composed of matrilineal moieties fused with three patrilineal

divisions, which Mr. Layard terms 'tri-sections.' The interaction of these was shown by means of a diagram composed of two circular bands representing the matrilineal moieties, and three radial divisions representing the patrilineal tri-sections.

Working on this basis, Mr. Layard examined the social and kinship organization of Vao, one of the Small Islands off the north-east coast of Malekula, which he recorded at a time when neither he nor anyone else suspected the existence of class-systems in Melanesia. This island is divided both socially and geographically into asymmetrical moieties, of which the 'superior' moiety contains one patrilineal double-village and the 'inferior' moiety contains two double villages. This would at first sight appear to indicate a system of patrilineal tri-sections such as those on Ambrim. But the kinship system points to the existence of tri-sections that are, on the contrary, matrilineal. Combining these with other features of the kinship system which indicate the existence of both patrilineal and matrilineal moieties, and of the social organization which includes the division of the island into four quarters, it is interpreted as evidence of the existence in this island of a type of kinship system. This system is also illustrated by circular diagrams, and its development is shown by the natives' own oral records. Evidence is given of a similar system of twelve classes in the Chou period of China, as recorded in the Erh Ya.

The kinship systems of the Northern New Hebrides as mirrored in ritual and mythology, were illustrated by views of the megalithic monuments erected during the rites, and by the change brought about in these owing to the gradual advance of patrilineal institutions over areas which at one time were predominately matrilineal.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

52 Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques : Comité de Standardisation de la Technique anthropologique (C.S.T.A.).

A conference, arranged by this committee, and open to all members of the Second International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences who are, or have been, professionally employed in physical anthropological research or teaching, will take place in Copenhagen immediately before the meeting of the Congress, namely during Thursday, Friday and Saturday, 28th-30th July, at the Kgl. Nordisk Oldskriftsselskab, National Museum, Frederiksholm Kanal 12.

The subjects for discussion will be the proposals to be brought forward by members of the C.S.T.A. executive, regarding standardization in the sections of technique detailed below.

Inquiries regarding the technical programme, etc., should be addressed to Prof. H. V. Vallois, Secretary to the C.S.T.A. (Faculté de Médecine, Allées Saint Michel, Toulouse, (Haute Garonne)), who will also be glad to be notified of proposed attendance.

Those desiring hotel accommodation should apply without delay to Wagons-Lits-Cook, Vesterbrogade 1, Copenhagen V, owing to the very great demand for accommodation during the holiday season.

M. L. TILDESLEY,
Chairman.

SECTIONS OF TECHNIQUE AND EXECUTIVE GROUPS IN CHARGE OF THEM.

1. *Cranial capacity* (direct measurement).—Dr. Emil Breiteringer (Munich); Dr. G. M. Morant (London).
2. *Auricular height of the head*.—Dr. Lucia Graf (Zürich); Dr. W. W. Howells (New York); Prof. A. Low (Aberdeen); Prof. O. Schlaginhaufen (Zürich).
3. *Classification of eye-colour*.—Dr. G. P. Frets (Portugal, Holland); Dr. H. T. E. Hertzberg (Cambridge, Mass.); Prof. Josef Weninger (Vienna).
4. *Nose height, total face height, upper face height, on the living and the cadaver*.—Dr. Sophie Ehrhardt (Berlin); Prof. G. Genna (Rome); Dr. M. F. Ashley Montagu (New York); Prof. P. H. Stevenson (Peiping).
5. *Cranial points and measurements not dependent on craniostatic orientation*.—Dr. Eberhard Geyer (Vienna); Dr. W. M. Krogman (Cleveland, Ohio); Dr. G. M. Morant (London).
6. *Head-measurements other than those specified under 2 and 4 and than those on the ear*.—Prof. G. Dahlberg (Uppsala); Dr. B. S. Guha (Calcutta); Prof. O. Schlaginhaufen (Zürich); Dr. Geo. Dee Williams (St. Louis, Mo.).
7. *Teeth*.—Dr. Milo Hellman (New York); Dr. G. Hjelmman (Helsingfors); Prof. F. Weidenreich (Peiping).
8. *Humerus*.—Dr. Emil Breiteringer (Munich); Prof. Montague Cobb (Washington, D.C.); Prof. G. Genna (Rome).
9. *Tibia*.—Dr. Lucia Graf (Zürich); Dr. H. L. Shapiro (New York); Prof. H. V. Vallois (Toulouse).

REVIEWS

ANTHROPOLOGY.

53 The Stone Age of Mount Carmel: Excavations at the Wady El-Mughara, Volume 1. By D. A. E. Garrod and D. M. A. Bate. Oxford University Press. 1937. Qto., xi + 240 pp. Price 42s.

No less than seven seasons' patient labour of skilled excavation in caves on Mount Carmel preceded the writing of this, let it be said at once, excellent monograph. The work was carried out, except for one season, under the leadership of Miss Garrod for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Prehistoric Research, after certain soundings made for the Department of Antiquities had demonstrated the importance of the sites. Mr. McCown was in charge during Miss Garrod's one-season absence. Half an hour only spent in turning over the pages of the book will give the immediate impression of the high level of the work which has been maintained throughout the excavation and the subsequent results.

The sites themselves Mugharét el-Wad, Etchmûn and Skhûl are situated about three miles from the Mediterranean and have proved incomparably rich in finds. Indeed, the list of museums which have been provided with type series from the various levels is formidable, and the weight of the material which the energetic band of excavators dealt with under their extremely competent leader must have been almost overwhelming!

The book is divided into two parts. In the first Miss Garrod describes the sites and excavations, deals with the archaeological material in detail, and adds an all too short chapter of summary and conclusions. To this part also Mr. McCown contributes a description of his season's

excavation in the Mugharét es-Skhûl, and there are one-page appendices on such things as beads, charcoal, vegetable remains etc. by various competent authorities. In the second, somewhat shorter, part Miss Bate deals with the palaeontological material from the deposits and the climatic and other information it can be made to yield. Many human remains were unearthed, but the detailed discussion of these will be the subject of a later volume by Mr. McCown and Sir Arthur Keith. This divorce of the human remains from their respective cultures and associated fauna was inevitable, but is none the less to be regretted. The whole volume is lavishly produced as indeed, it should be for its price of 42s. There are fifty-five plates including maps, plans, photographs, line drawings of implements (my wife is proud to have been commissioned to do these), skeletons, etc.

So much for the general plan of the book. If we look now at the archaeological material we find that at the first great cave discussed, the Mugharét el-Wad, Miss Garrod found at the top, below an early bronze age to recent level a most interesting mesolithic industry (layer B) which, owing to certain peculiar features, has been given the special name Natufian. Differing from their western counterparts, the Natufians made bone sickles, the heads of which in several cases they carved very beautifully into animal forms. Naturally the presence of sickles alone does not definitely prove that the Natufians were already agriculturalists: it is quite possible that in that area wild seed-bearing grasses may have been in existence which these people used for food. Without some evidence for ploughs or hoes it is impossible to be certain on this point. It is of course difficult to assign an exact date to this culture, but there is a tool figured on

Plate X which reminds me of some found in Egypt in a Tasian context. Another Natufian peculiarity is that the backs of their little crescents are sometimes bevelled instead of blunted. Buried skulls decorated with necklaces of shells were also unearthed, and are extraordinarily interesting.

Below the Natufian, in Layer C, Miss Garrod found a sort of very late Middle Aurignacian which she has named Atlitian, on the grounds that "it does not exactly correspond with any recognised stage of that culture or of the Upper Aurignacian." Nevertheless, both Châtel-perron and Audi knife-blades occur—by the way has not the time come to drop the name "points" for these tools, they are clearly finger knife blades? One would like to hear perhaps a little more as to the technique employed in the manufacture of the tools. What proportion of them, for example, show regular fluting? Indeed this is a criticism, of small importance where all is so good, that might to some extent also be applied to other sections. Recently a greater stress has been put on the study of technique, and this discipline is taking its place on an equality with that of typology. Layer D is also Middle Aurignacian, while Layer E includes types which occur at Krems and Font Yves. This perhaps indicates influences penetrating southwards from the Danube Valley. Layer F is transitional from Aurignacian to Levallois-Mousterian, while Layer G is wholly the latter, and here the deposits of this great cave come to an end.

At Et-Tabûn the later material is less well represented, but, on the contrary, the earlier series are far more extensive. Layers B, C and D are here Levallois-Mousterian, and link on absolutely with the finds in Layers F and G of the first cave. Below this, in Layer E, there are a number of levels of Upper Acheulean date, one of which contains a number of really lovely Micoque coups de poing, while another, also Micoquian, has as well a quantity of blades and tools of very Upper Palaeolithic appearance. May not this phenomenon perhaps be equated with Dr. Leakey's Kenya find of a blade industry contemporary with the Upper Acheulean there and possibly very early Upper Palaeolithic in culture? Layer F too is Upper Acheulean, but Layer G has been classed by Miss Garrod as Tayacian. The finds in this level are somewhat sparse and poorly made. I doubt whether Miss Garrod would agree with anyone who might wish to hang a vast theory of folk movements on her equation of this industry with the Tayacian of the Dordogne!

At the Mugharet es-Sikhûl all the finds belong to the Levallois-Mousterian stage, but a number of skeletal remains were discovered and are here described by Mr. McCown.

And now we come to Miss Garrod's chapter of summary and conclusions in which she first relates her material to other finds in Palestine and Syria that have been made in stratified deposits—thus wisely excluding a mass of surface material from which useful deductions can only rarely be made—and then turns her attention to more far-flung comparisons. Here those who have the honour to know Miss Garrod well will not be surprised to find that she rebuts with characteristic firmness any idea that Stone-Age Palestine might have been either an African dependency or even a debatable ground, claiming that its industries show a general lack of affinity with those of North Africa, and that the country was essentially a part of Eurasia. While not for a moment wishing to deny her main thesis—he would be a rash man who would cast doubts on Miss Garrod's scientific conclusions, so careful and thorough is her work—I feel that there is possibly more affinity than that which she does allow for the earlier periods. I notice for instance

that she dismisses perhaps a little cursorily, as "intrusive," the occurrence of points like her Emireh examples at Tabelbala—incidentally those specimens referred to as being in the Cambridge Museum are actually in my own collection. These Tabelbala points were recognised by Breuil a long time ago, is it perhaps a pity to have given another name to the same type of implement? Again I wonder if she has considered sufficiently the very striking resemblance between the industry of her Levallois-Mousterian Layer C (Et-Tabûn) and some tools of an industry found in Somaliland now on show in the African Gallery of the Cambridge Museum? (see MAN, 1931, 164. "Stone Implements from British Somaliland" by M. C. Burkitt and C. Barrington Brown.) This whole chapter is, however, excellent and one can only wish that there were more of it. It is imbued throughout with that cool, scientific thoroughness and modesty that are characteristic of all Miss Garrod's work.

With regard to Miss Bate's portion of the book I am only competent to give an indication of its scope. After an introductory chapter she gives a description of the faunal assemblages and their climatic inferences, a note on faunal correlations, detailed descriptions of the new species, and a most helpful conclusion—where again such interesting items as the appearance of the domestic dog in the Natufian are all too modestly brought forward. It is curious to note that the material from the level of Tabûn B shows a complete faunal break with that which went before (Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus and other primitive types giving place to a generally "modern" fauna) which only corresponds to an industrial change from Lower to Upper Levallois-Mousterian. In this connexion a problem of the general arrangement of the book crops up. I am not sure how it could have been bettered, nevertheless it remains a difficulty. Miss Garrod first considers her archaeological levels as they were excavated, that is from the top downwards, whereas in her summary she reverses this order—an arrangement followed by Miss Bate. This probably inevitable change does however produce a momentary mental confusion when one turns from one section to another of the book. Again the facts of excavation did not permit that, say, Layer B of Mugharet el-Wad should correspond archaeologically to Layer B of Et-Tabûn and the reader may well find it hard to remember automatically which industry was found in any given level, in which case he is compelled to interrupt his reading and search for some place in the book where he can refresh his memory. Possibly the authors might have regularly given us the industrial reference bracketed in the text, but this would have needed much labour and might have been cumbersome; or again at the risk of repetition, Miss Garrod might have inserted at the end or beginning of the book that excellent composite section in tabular form which she has published elsewhere. But the criticisms of arrangement noted above are minor. Palestine is obviously of prehistoric and this important investigation it chronicles given we were waiting for. Deserve standard work of the Stone Age production of which its authors are indeed to be congratulated.

M. C. BURKITT.

The Younge Site: An Archaeological Record from Michigan. By Emerson F. Greenman, with appendices by Frederick R. Matson, Jr., and Byron O. Hughes. Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, No. 6. University of Michigan Press, 1937. xii + 172 pp., 33 plates and 19 text figures. Price \$2.25.

The chief aim of this report is said to be the presentation

In the latter respect the reports fulfil an important function which a larger journal might be tempted to overlook; in the former, the public is acquainted with the activities of the department before the time has come to issue full accounts. Of particular interest in the report for 1934 is an unusual form of neolithic idol from Potos and a short study of Byzantine glazed pottery. From the report for 1935 one may notice especially the preliminary account of the excavations at Erimi and the Mycenaean bronze stand.

We may perhaps be permitted to make a suggestion, especially as the principal worker in the prehistoric field is the Museum-director. Cyprus was famous in the classical period for its copper, but it is uncertain whether these supplies were utilized in the bronze age. This question can probably be settled by the evidence of impurities detected by chemical analysis, and it is important that many analyses be carried out, especially of the most ancient objects. We hope that this will not be neglected, and that the important questions relative to the sources of metal in the Near East will advance towards their solution by the discoveries in Cyprus. O. DAVIES.

Roman Britain and the English Settlements. By R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937. xxv + 515 pp. Price 12s. 6d.

This book is undoubtedly a considerable contribution

to the study of Roman Britain and the settlements of the Anglo-Saxon immigrants. The earlier portion deals with the topography of Britain before the Roman conquest in much the same manner as that to which we are now familiar from the writings of Sir Cyril Fox. The subsequent conquest and occupation of the country is dealt with in such detail and at such a length that no student of the period can afford to be without this book. This is not the place to discuss the various views which the author expresses in detail, we can only note that even the much disparaged Arthur is dealt with in a most plausible manner and appears as a human being and not as a bear or any other fantasy.

It is perhaps a pity that Mr. Myres' painstaking study of the succeeding period is included in the same volume. The resulting book is a little unhandy and the reviewer feels that the two sections would have been more attractive had they been produced as separate volumes with bigger print. Mr. Myres discusses the problems of the Anglo-Saxon conquest with an open mind and in great detail. It is not surprising, therefore, that after putting forward theory after theory he almost always arrives back, as we all do, at the realization that we know practically nothing about it.

Misprints are rare. The Roman section is much too scantily provided with maps. But the book is of great value to students. T. C. L.

ASIA

The Kharias. By Sarat Chandra Roy and R. C. Roy with a Foreword by R. R. Marett. Vols. I and II. *Man in India Office, Ranchi, India*, 1937. xiv + 530 + xlxvi pp., plates, map and statistical tables. Price Rs. 11.

This monograph deals with the somatology, material culture, sociology and folklore of the Kharias, one of the Munda-speaking communities of Chotanagpur, distributed over a wide area extending from the Bay of Bengal to Central India, and divided into three cultural sections, the Hill Kharias, the Dhehki Kharias and the Dudh Kharias. The Hill Kharias are almost food gatherers with a very simple culture, whereas the other two sections have more complex social, political and economic organizations. Thus within one community different degrees of cultural development are observed. The authors are of opinion that the Hill Kharia culture is an atrophied one, the chief degenerating factor being the inhospitable environment.

All the three sections have been in contact with the more developed culture of the Hindus for varying periods and the assimilation of that all-pervading culture has been going on quietly though effectively. One of the new cultural factors is Christianity; for the success of the missionaries in the Kharia areas is something remarkable, judging from the number of converts and the influence wielded by them. Christianity has here supplied new interests in the place of what it had to destroy in the original culture of the converts, and in addition to this it has been also a means of saving the simple folk from the tyranny of money-lenders and unscrupulous landlords. The great diversity in the culture of the Kharias makes the problem of presentation of the ethnographic data rather difficult. The authors have treated Kharia culture as a single unit with three elements under each of its various aspects. The other alternative method would have been to treat the three sections as though they were separate cultural groups, as Dr. Hunter has done in her 'Reaction to Conquest.' Both the methods have their advantages and disadvantages, and as the study of culture-contact and change is

new to anthropology, it will take some time before we are able to decide conclusively as to which of the two is the better method.

As Dr. Marett says in his foreword (which the reviewer feels should be made better known to all Indian universities), the story of the life of the simple Kharia is told by the authors in a simple and readable manner. The folk-lore, sociologist or museum ethnologist will find something or other of interest in these two volumes. Even the hunter after ethnological curiosities have in them many strange customs that will appeal to him, such, for example, being the 'domestication of the 'son-in-law' and 'marriage by intrusion'. The book is profusely illustrated and well documented with the texts of native statements and songs, etc. The price at which it is offered to the public should be regarded as being very cheap. A. AIYAPPAN.

Journal of Chinese Folk-lore. Edited by Professor Dr. Ching-chi Young. Vol. I, No. 2 (January, 1937). Canton: Chinese Folk-lore Society. 296 pp.

This valuable publication contains a list of contents in English, but a list of contents in Chinese titles is, however, defective. Out of fourteen no English titles are given, and what is meant. No. 1, 'the dead body.' It is a rather desultory article which collects a certain number of facts about the ways in which various peoples with whom the Chinese came in contact disposed of their dead. No. 2 ('The rat and the Chinese ancient custom') deals with the rat in folk-lore, its magical transformations, the transformations of other creatures into rats, the rat as omen and as prophet, the rat in magical practices, the rat's wedding on the last day of the year. No. 7, 'On stories of famous men in Tchu-Chow,' deals with the interesting theme of the folk-lore element in Chinese biographies. No. 8, 'On the story-type of Monkey,'

i.e., the folk-tale type 'The Monkey's Bride,' deals with the legend of a monkey-like creature who steals itself a human bride. It is traceable from about 1 A.D. onwards, and is a favourite subject in romances and plays. The outline, from medieval times onwards, is that an official travelling with a handsome wife or concubine suddenly finds that she has disappeared. She has in fact been stolen by the White Monkey. She is recovered by a monster-slayer (a sort of St. George), or else by the help of a bird or insect, generally a magpie or bee. No. 14, 'The Luck of women in Tong-Kwang,' 'seen through from local folk-songs,' means 'The lot of

'women (or as we should say, "the position of women")' as reflected in the folk-songs of Tung-kuan.' No. 4, on the aborigines of Formosa (translated from the Japanese) is too summary to be of much use to ethnologists. The influence of written literature is apparent in almost all the songs and stories reproduced in this volume. Thus the marriage-songs in No. 11, though treated as folk-songs, have all the air of being elaborate literary productions, and contain allusions to the Confucian Classics.

The next number will deal exclusively with Cantonese folk-lore. A. D. WALEY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Stone Age Cultures of Uganda. (Cf. MAN, 1937, 237.)

60 SIR,—I have been following the correspondence on the Stone-Age Cultures of Uganda with great interest, and I should like at this stage to make certain observations in connexion with Mr. T. P. O'Brien's letter MAN, 1937, 237.

During the early part of 1937 I had the opportunity of examining a very large collection of artifacts from Mr. Wayland's 'M-horizon' in company with Mr. Wayland himself and Professor C. van Riet Lowe. As a result of this examination I have no hesitation in saying that the industry of what Mr. Wayland calls 'M-horizon' is exactly similar to that of Olduvai (Oldoway) Bed 3; in other words that it belongs to what I have named 'African Acheulean Stage 1.'

On the same occasion I also examined another large assemblage of artifacts from a horizon which overlies the 'M' horizon of Mr. Wayland and is quite distinct from it, which he calls 'N', and I found that this assemblage contained implements typical of three later stages of the Acheulean of Olduvai—namely 'African Acheulean Stage 2, 3 and 4.' These three stages are at Olduvai clearly distinguished stratigraphically, while at Nsongezi they are found together in the deposit which overlies the true 'M-horizon' of Mr. Wayland—i.e., his 'N'. It follows that this latter deposit must have been formed after the youngest of the three stages of culture which it contains had been evolved and that it was therefore probably formed during or after the time when the 'African Acheulean Stage 4' flourished.

Now it is probably significant that at Olduvai that part of Bed 4 which yields 'African Acheulean Stage 4' is slightly reddened; not nearly so markedly as Bed 3, but sufficiently so to suggest to both Professor Reck and myself a minor climatic oscillation.

his the M- the clean of Bed 3, 2 and even a few of stage 1.

It is therefore not in the least surprising that Mr. O'Brien's 'M' horizon—as distinct from Mr. Wayland's—contains a 'Middle Acheulean' industry. From what I have seen, it certainly does; since it seems that Mr. O'Brien is including in his 'M' a horizon that Mr. Wayland, as a geologist, recognizes as distinct from 'M.'

If Mr. O'Brien's 'A' part of his 'M' horizon contains tool-types which are later than those of Olduvai

Bed 3, then it would seem that even his 'A' part of 'M' horizon is not the same as Mr. Wayland's 'M'.

I strongly suspect however that the true equation is: Mr. Wayland's 'M' = Mr. O'Brien's 'A' part of 'M' = Oldoway Bed 3.

Mr. Wayland's 'N' = Mr. O'Brien's 'B' part of 'M' = the slightly reddened horizon in Oldoway Bed 4 at the time when Acheulean Stage 4 flourished.

Certainly Mr. Wayland's 'N' (which is, I think, Mr. O'Brien's 'B' part of 'M'), contains implements of industries up to and including African Acheulean Stage 4, which is Middle Acheulean.

Nakuru, Kenya.

L. S. B. LEAKEY.

61 SIR,—In the above published letter, MAN, 1938, 60, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey has expressed exactly the view that I hold, but he has refined it. My correlation was this:—M = Oldoway Bed III; N (Wayland) = Oldoway Bed IV. I was quite happy about this except that my N seemed to represent only part of Oldoway Bed IV, and now Dr. Leakey shows that this is so, and also which part it represents. I believe he is right. According to my interpretation, my N is succeeded by deposits of Leakey's Gamblian Pluvial, in which case O'Brien's N-horizon must also be of that date.

It would, I think, help matters if Mr. O'Brien re-named his N-horizon. Entebbe, Uganda.

E. J. WAYLAND.

More Microlithic Sites in India. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 19.)

62 SIR,—Since my article *The Microlithic Industries of India* (MAN, 1938, 19) was set up in type, further researches now enable me to put on record four more authentic sites. The first of these has already received passing mention in my article: this is the Jamal Garhi Cave. This cave, which is in the Mardan District of the North-West Frontier Province, can be clearly seen west of and about three hundred yards from the Mardan-Katlang road, at the point where it makes a descent to pass through the Jamal Garhi defile. The flakes are scattered over an area of about thirty yards breadth by twenty yards depth on the slope in front of the cave. They are chipped from coarse-grained opaque white quartz and semi-translucent banded quartz and also from a black schist (?) material.

So far nothing very spectacular has been found; the material is poor and the ground, ploughed rock debris, is very difficult to search. At the same time the flakes are definitely the result of human industry and are 750 miles north of any microlithic site yet recorded. I believe the link to be a cave industry running the whole length of the frontier hills joining Jamal Garhi to the sites in Sind.

In Southern Bombay Presidency I discovered, while at Belgaum, three sites not previously recorded; they are Piranvadi, Barapedi Cave and Chandadargi.

Piranvadi site is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.W. of Piranvadi village and 6 miles S.W. of Belgaum. The actual site is limited to a small apparently artificially levelled area bounded by a low bank about 50 yards square on the 2553 feature, shown on the one-inch survey sheet just west of the 6th mile stone on the Forest road. The flakes and cores from this site are, for the most part, minute. One very delicately shaped crescent was found to indicate the possibility of the site.

Barapedi Cave is 34 miles by road via Khanapur, S.W. from Belgaum, and is in the jungle north of the Talevadi Inspection Bungalow. It is best reached by following the salt-revenue track north from Talevadi village to the 18th mile stone (marked on the map), then striking west into the jungle till an open grassy glade is reached. This should be followed for about fifty yards, when one should turn south round the end of a low spur; here a east round should find the cave, which faces east, concealed behind a small clump of trees. The cave is large, being 80 to 100 feet square. The flakings, as is usual, are in an extensive wash-away across the cave mouth.

Chandadargi site is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Chandadargi village and $44\frac{1}{2}$ miles each of Belgaum on the Kaladgi road. The site, which is confined to the north of the road, extends roughly for a distance of 300 yards north and south and 50 yards east and west, mostly on a gentle slope towards Chandadargi. This site yielded the best finds, good retouched flakes of chert and chalcedony, and unworked flakes in abundance.

I have deposited, at the museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, material from (1) The Mahadeo Hills, (2) Adamgarh Quarry, (3) Singhanpur, (4) Ellora, (5) Jamalgari, (6) Piranvadi, Barapedi and Chandadargi, (7) Havaligi Hill, Madras (one of Bruce Foote's sites). At the British Museum I have deposited material from sites (1) to (5) above and also a detailed distribution of finds on the Pachamarhi Plateau plotted on a survey guide map. D. H. GORDON, Lt.-Col.
Nowshera, N.W.P., India.

Vulgarization.

63 SIR.—In explaining customs, we are entitled to assume only processes that have been observed. For instance, when we explain marriage ceremonies by postulating that they spread from king to people, we must be able to show that such a process of vulgarization does take place. Examples are not wanting. One of the most convincing is the title *rāja*, king, which has spread down to village headmen in Ceylon and petty functionaries (see my *Temple of the Tooth*, p. 11). It would be difficult, however, to find a case in which the spread has been as rapid as in the following one which I owe to 'Ali Ahmed 'Isa Effendi.

When the King of Egypt passes through a provincial capital, the mayors of the neighbourhood are invited to attend at the station. The invitation is printed in gold lettering surmounted by a crown. The peasants round about Damanhur have copied these cards, crown, gold, and style for their invitations to weddings.

Prof. Shafik Ghorbal informs me that the crown did not come into use till the time of the Khedive Ismail (1863-1879). The royal style has thus reached the peasant in less than seventy years, probably much less. The exact time is of little importance, the essential is that in our theoretical constructions we need never worry how much or how little time we allow for the process.

What is far more important to note is the difference between England and Egypt in this case. England is

the home of snobbery, yet the use of the crown has never spread there, and we feel it to be impossible. Why? Because the crown has been so anciently associated with the king, and the king is so unique, that any one adopting the royal style would make himself ridiculous. In Egypt the crown is exotic; it is the exclusive prerogative of the king, but pictures of it on cards are not felt to be so. It is possible for the peasant to copy royalty because he does not regard the original as reserved to the king. For him it is only a grand way of doing things. He does not therefore appear to his neighbours guilty of ludicrous presumption, but only as being in the fashion.

Some day when the causes which facilitate or inhibit vulgarization have been thoroughly studied, it may be that our descendants will be able to utilize this knowledge in statecraft. That is a long way off, however, for we have not yet begun to study them. A. M. HOCART.

Superstition and Fact. (Cf. MAN, 1934, 205.)

64 SIR.—In the *Transactions* of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society for 1935 Lady Fox describes a well at Llancarfan, Glam., the water of which is believed by the local inhabitants to be a cure for erysipelas. An analysis showed, however, that the water contains nothing of the slightest medicinal value. I commend this to the notice of Professor Hutton (cf. MAN, 1934, 205) and anyone else who believes that popular superstitions have always some foundation in fact. RAGLAN.

An Essay Prize for Egyptian Studies. (Cf. MAN, 1937, 51.)

65 SIR.—In MAN, 1937, 51 a prize was offered for an essay on some archaeological or ethnographical subject (not mainly linguistic or literary) connected with Prehistoric or Pharaonic Egypt.

The Committee reports that it is very gratified at the response, the following ten essays having been sent in. They came from England, America, France, Egypt and the Sudan, and are listed in the order in which they were received.

1. The Lamps of Ancient Egypt.
2. Some New Light on the Beginnings of Egyptian Civilization.
3. The Labyrinth of Hawara.
4. Ancient Egyptian Agriculture.
5. The Liver's Significance to the Egyptians, Minoans, and Babylonians.
6. The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia.
7. Beekeeping in Ancient Egypt.
8. Prehistoric Steatopygous Figures from Egypt.

10. The
The
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the
or literary. Several excellent papers were unfortunately too limited in scope to compete with the four more important ones. After careful consideration of the subject matter, outlook displayed, importance of the results obtained, etc., the prize was unanimously awarded to Essay No. 9, *The 'First Intermediate Period' of Egyptian History*, which proves to be the work of Mr. Theodore Burton Brown. It is hoped the author may be able to publish what is clearly a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early movements in the Near East. K. DE B. CODRINGTON;

M. A. MURRAY; G. A. WAINWRIGHT.



FIG. 1. SIX CH'WAN MIAO WOMEN IN FRONT OF THE CHIEFTAIN'S HOUSE.

FIG. 2. ADULT FEMALE.

FIGS. 3, 4. ADULT MALES. NOTE THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF THE EYEFOLD.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

MAN

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XXXVIII, 66-81

MAY, 1938

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Blood Groups : China

With Plate E.

Yang : Beh : Morse

BLOOD GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA. By Stephen C. H. Yang, Y. T. Beh, M.D., and Professor W. R. Morse, M.D., West China University College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu. With Plate E.

66 This paper presents data on the blood groups of an aboriginal ethnic group called the Ch'wan Miao. There is included in this report some previously unpublished data on the blood groups of the Chinese of the province of Szechwan, practically all of whom were inhabitants of the Chengtu Plain.

Introduction.—In pursuance of a plan to make physical anthropological measurements and observations¹ on the Chinese and aboriginal tribes of Szechwan Province, one of the authors (M), with some help from Chinese medical doctors and students who were trained by him for anthropological work, have examined some 1,746 Chinese and 1,304 aboriginal tribesmen.

The aboriginal ethnic groups examined were mainly Tibetans, Chiang, Gia or Chia Rong, Hsi or Shi Fan, Bo Lo Tsi, Noso (Lolo) Black Bones and White Bones, Ta Hwa Miao, Ch'wan Miao and Chung Chia. The Chinese came from quite widely separated areas of the Chengtu Plain and the aborigines from the highlands and mountains to the north, west and south of that Plain.

The statistical analysis of these measurements is now being worked out.

There were over 70 physical anthropological measurements and observations taken on individuals of nearly all of these groups. Most of those examined were adult males, although several hundred adolescent male and female Chinese were included. Sixty of the Chinese were dissecting-room subjects, and their bones, except the skull, were preserved. Photographs were taken of many individuals.

These data have been gathered over a period of some fifteen years, during which time W. R. Morse has organized and made eleven expeditions into different sections of the province wholly or partially occupied by the aborigines. Roughly speaking, this territory is included within Lat. 27° 30' N. to 32° 30' N.; Long. 102° E. to 104° E., or from Songpan (Szechwan) in the north; Chao Tung (Yunnan) in the south; Yachow or Yaan (Szechwan) in the east; and Tatsienlu or Kangting (Shikang) in the west. The Ch'wan Miao occupy an area near Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 140° E.

The data accumulated include blood-pressure observations on the Noso (Lolo), Ta Hwa Miao and Ch'wan Miao². Blood-pressure and blood-grouping, colour-blindness, etc., are to be observed on the Tibetans, Chiang, Gia Rong and Shi Fan, by an expedition, almost entirely for that purpose, during the months of July and August, 1937.

In correspondence with Professor R. Ruggles Gates of King's College, University of London, during 1935-36, Dr. Gates raised the question of blood grouping of the Tibetans and requested Dr. Morse to obtain those data. Owing to the acute activity of the Communists in and about

¹ A schedule of these measurements and observations is now in press, published by W. R. Morse, as a supplement to Jour. W. China Border Research Society, VIII.

² 'Blood Pressure Amongst Aboriginal Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China,' W. R. Morse, Y. T. Beh, *The Lancet*, Vol. 232, p. 966, 1937.

the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.³ Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao³ whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.³

The Chinese population of Szechwan is not autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese aborigines called the Shu and Pa.³ These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below:—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
Chwan Miao	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36.1	11.2	39.0	13.7	
Szechwanese	487	375	289	141	1,292
per cent.	37.7	29.0	22.4	10.9	

Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

⁴ Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

³ W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice.

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University.

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6-8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2-3 feet long through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,² photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

RAPID APPROXIMATIONS IN THE COMPUTATION OF DIET IN THE FIELD. By G. P. L. Miles, B.Sc., London. *Cranmore Ethnographical Museum.*

67 The place of diet in connexion with any problem relating to the improvement of conditions of native life in Africa or elsewhere has been so clearly brought out by the work of Orr and Gilks,¹ and more recently by Richards and Widdowson,² as well as by Mellanby, Fox, Worthington and others, that some survey of nutrition should become almost a 'sine qua non' for the anthropological field-worker; more especially if, as Malinowski suggests, he is to approach culture by means of the theory of primary needs, and to ascertain to what extent these needs are met by the particular culture under observation.

There are, however, still many who, intimidated by calories, carbohydrates and calcium salts, and refusing to be burdened with complex tables of analyses, weighing machines, and samples of food, have shied at the approach to dietetics, and declared this to be a matter for the specialist. So it may be, but until he is available, the onus must fall on the general field-worker, to make his notes as intelligently as possible and to draw such conclusions, based upon approximations, as may enable him to hit upon a probable deficiency in the

diet under consideration. That even a more elaborately conducted survey cannot do more than this is well illustrated by reference to the report of Orr and Gilks, where it is stated that the diets were *probably* inadequate in calcium and *possibly* in some other inorganic constituents, and that they *might* also be inadequate in vitamin A and D, and it was decided to *test the effect* of the addition of a mixture of mineral salts and cod liver oil.

As an observer and a recorder, the anthropological field-worker requires a large amount of technical knowledge in order to make his observations well, but this does not mean that he must be so well versed in every branch of science as to be able to give full interpretation to all the data collected: he should, however, be in possession of such knowledge of the basic principles of nutrition as would permit him to make his notes intelligently and to arrive at conclusions that might lead to further investigation while opportunity offers.

For making the necessary computations, he will require a set of tables which should be of simplified form as compared with those recently published by the International Institute for African

Languages and Cultures⁴ and should (it is suggested) show only the calorific value, the percentages of protein, and of fat, and the presence of significant amounts of the essential minerals and vitamins in all the foods likely to be met with.

Equipped with this table and the knowledge that the average adult man requires 1000 of his own body weight in protein in order to make good his daily waste of tissue, and the equivalent of 2,400 calories in order to maintain his bodily temperature and the movements of his internal organs when doing no work, it is not difficult to make a calculation showing whether these amounts, as well as significant amounts of the necessary minerals and vitamins, are supplied by the ration; and further to ascertain the surplus available for work. From a table of supplements for muscular activity, it is then possible to see how many hours of light, medium, or hard work may be expected from a man living on the ration in question.⁵

It is true that we have no special figures, either for maintenance or for work, in the case of the African native living under tropical conditions, and it is true that we do not at present know his minimum nor optimum requirements of vitamins, minerals, or fat; but this is no criticism of this simplified method of approach: the anthropological field-worker is in this respect no worse off than the dietetic expert, and it is to be hoped that this very work will help to throw more light on the subject.

Instructions issued with the tables would indicate not only the method of use, but also the necessity of taking into consideration such additional factors as the effect of cooking, the inadequacy of one type of protein such as 'Zein,' the necessity for some form of fat, the effect of sunlight on the subcutaneous generation of vitamin D and the calcium-activating propensities of excess of this vitamin, as well as the variations in requirements due to such bodily conditions as puberty, pregnancy, or lactation.

It would also be pointed out that dietetic deficiency will in some cases make itself evident, by emaciation, or by craving for a particular food

as in the case of the Bemba, or by specific deficiency-diseases, the symptoms of which should be made known.

In the case of foods which are sometimes eaten in the fresh condition and at other times dried, two sets of figures will be required, both based on the digestible portion; the interpolation of any intermediate stage being left to the field-worker. Errors will become inevitable, and cannot be eliminated from work involving so many variables, such as daily and seasonal variation, digestibility of different samples due to method of harvesting or cooking, idiosyncrasy, etc., but it must be emphasised that the ultimate aim is not the preparation of unimpeachable reference-statistics, but the immediate indication of a possible source of malnutrition which can be put to the test. It is to be hoped that in time even the most abstruse errors of diet will have been elucidated by investigation carefully carried out, but in the meantime it is for the field-worker to do what he can, more especially where malnutrition is obviously menacing the health of the people.

The difficulty of computation from the data having been disposed of, there remains only that of collection, which should not be so great as some field-workers would lead us to suppose; for even where the handling of the food, and the use of the weighing machine and measure are looked upon with suspicion, there still remains the possibility of estimation at sight, based on weighings made in private. In this way it should be possible to arrive at fairly accurate results on the lines suggested by Firth.³

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A PROTECTION AGAINST THE EVIL EYE IN LOWER NUBIA AND UPPER EGYPT. By J. G. Griffiths, M.A.

68 During a stay of four months at the Egypt Exploration Society's camp in Sesebi, near Delgo, in Lower Nubia, I noticed

that a common feature in the construction of the mud houses in that neighbourhood is the use of china plates and saucers to decorate the portion

of the wall above the door or main entrance. Frequent examples occur in the villages of Sesi, Kasanta, Handika, Gorgod, Delgo, Sudla, Tura, and Koka, and the most common arrangement of the objects is triangular.

At first sight it appears that their only purpose is to decorate. Mohamed Khêr, the *hakim* at Delgo, informed me that the people place them in their houses simply *alashan fantasia*, 'for the sake of amusement.' Mr. G. W. Grabbhani, Director of Antiquities, who is acquainted with the customs of the whole of the Sudan, stated that in many cases these plates and saucers are arranged in the form of a cross. Only a few of the examples seen by me were arranged thus. He suggested that originally they were all arranged in that way, having reference to Christianity, but that later, when Islam prevailed, the custom was retained by many in ignorance of its origin, and that in many cases the sign of the cross was no longer followed; and that in all cases the conscious purpose was not now connected with Christianity, but simply with decoration.¹

It is possible however that the converse is true, and that the objects were used in the first place as ornaments, and later acquired a religious or magical significance. This was the view, some years ago, of Professor A. M. Blackman, who directed the recent excavations at Sesebi, and who was also excavating at Buhen, near Wadi Halfa, in 1910. The following was his description and explanation of the custom:²—"An interesting case of how a new custom springing up is, after a time, given some magical signification, comes from Lower Nubia. Over nearly every house door china plates are fastened up. In some places the people said they were merely an ornament, in others—a village called Meris and at Dehmit—the people said they were put over the door to ensure there always being plenty of bread in the house. The Omda of Dehmit said that it was only in the last ten or fifteen years that Nubian servants in hotels and European houses had brought

"such plates home with them. Till then plates had never been used for bread. If anything had been used for bread, it was, and indeed still is, the flat basket (*tabaga*). I never saw a single instance of a *tabaga* fastened over a door."

To this it may be objected that the percentage of hotel servants among the natives of Lower Nubia was never so high as to make possible the almost universal adoption there of a custom like this. Even to-day the natives view with pride the souvenirs brought back by their relatives who serve in the hotels. One of the children working at Sesebi wore a woollen garment with the inscription 'Shepherd's Hotel.' But it is incredible that a persistent feature in the construction of houses should owe its origin to this socially exalted minority.

It is interesting to observe that the same custom obtains in Upper Egypt. Miss W. S. Blackman *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, Harrap, 1927, states that it is of frequent occurrence. She appears to be convinced however that the true purpose is to protect the inmates against the evil eye. "It is also the custom," she says, "to protect houses from the evil eye, and various decorations are employed for this purpose. Sometimes a plate or saucer is plastered into the wall just above the main entrance, or pieces of old carving, picked up from an ancient rubbish mound, may be let into the masonry round the door." (*l.c.* p. 224).

That the custom occurs also in Lower Egypt is attested by Mr. M. S. Salem, of Liverpool University, who is a native of Badari, Assiut Province. But he is doubtful whether the real motive is protection against the evil eye. The china plates are often found, he says, in the newer houses, although they are not in general use as domestic utensils.

It is generally agreed, in spite of this, that belief in the evil eye is still very prevalent in most parts of Egypt and Nubia. All manner of amulets are still worn as a protection. To cite an unusual example, an infant was seen by me in a house at Sesi wearing a string round its neck, to which was attached a Maria Theresa dollar.

The fact that china plates are not in general use in these regions is really an argument in favour of their protective significance. Belief in the evil eye is well-nigh universal, and it is well known that uncommon and striking objects are

¹ A. P. G. Michelmores *A possible relic of Christianity in Darfur* in 'Sudan Notes and Records,' 1932, Part 2, 272-273, speaking of the relic of Christian practices, says, 'These relics consist largely in making the sign of the cross or in going through motions reminiscent of Christian baptismal rites.'

² *Some Egyptian and Nubian Notes* in MAN, 1910, 11.

frequently used to attract the evil attention to themselves. Elworthy says: *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, (1912) V. 612a. "All authorities and all experience agree that to neutralize the look it is essential to attract it towards something striking, by way of diverting it from the object liable to injury. Hence arose the use of bright, shining ornaments of all kinds . . . Amulets against the evil eye are of three classes . . . : (i) Those intended to attract upon themselves the malignant glance, such as were worn outside of the dress, or such as were sculptured, painted, or otherwise exposed in or upon houses or public buildings, etc." It is reasonable to suppose that in Egypt and Nubia china plates fulfil all the requirements of this class of objects, and that they are deemed as powerful to attract to themselves the evil eye.

This is corroborated by the fact that other objects are also placed above the doorway from similar protective motives. Horns of sheep and

other animals are used in this way,³ and the 'bride of the corn,' which is hung above the front door has sometimes the same significance.⁴ Inside the house, too, protective objects are found. To quote Miss Blackman: "Inside the house, on the walls of the living-rooms, I have seen painted designs which the owner told me were put there to keep off the evil eye. Indeed, the devices resorted to for protecting houses, fields, animals, and people of all ages against this dreaded power are multitudinous . . ."

It is probable therefore that the use of china plates and saucers as a form of house decoration has really a similar protective significance.

³ W. S. Blackman, *l.c.*, p. 224.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-2. Cf. also *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VIII, pp. 235 seqq. Some occurrences of the cornucopia in ancient Egyptian Tomb-paintings by the same author. The use of amulets against the evil eye is also described by Budge *The Egyptian Sudan* (London, 1907), I, p. 214.

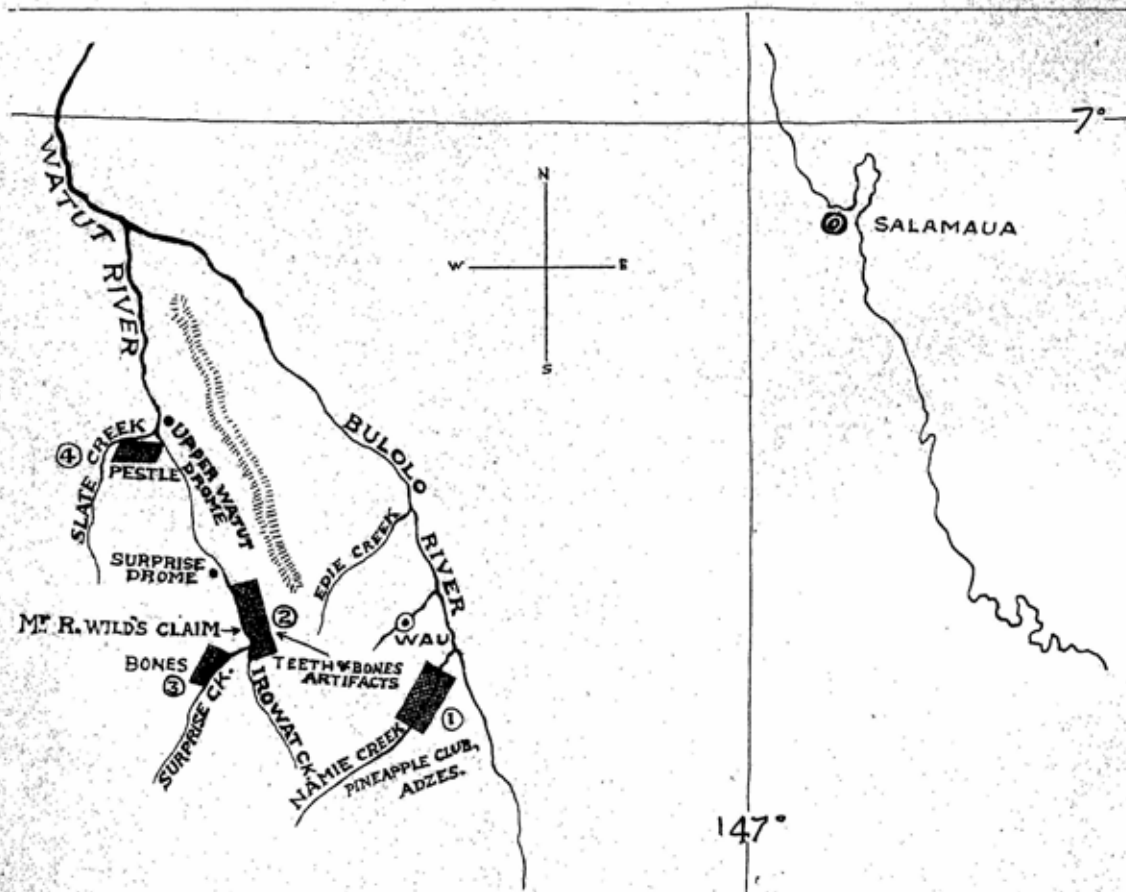


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF WATUT AND BULOLO RIVERS SHOWING SITES WHERE ARTIFACTS WERE FOUND.

ANCIENT CARVED STONE OBJECTS, WATUT RIVER, TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA. *By V. H. Sherwin.*

69 When recently I was the guest of Mr. Russell Wild, who has a claim with the Irowat Company on the upper Watut river, I had an opportunity of examining some curious stone artifacts that had been unearthed in the neighbourhood and Mr. Wild kindly gave me further information about them.

The localities in which artifacts were found are : 1, Namie creek, which flows into Bulolo river near Wau. 2, Mr. Wild's claim on the Watut river, where Irowat and Surprise creeks join the Watut. 3, Surprise creek. 4, Slate creek, lower down the river. See sketch map, fig. 1.

1. *Namie creek.* A very fine specimen of the head of a stone-headed club of the type known as 'pineapple' was found six feet below the surface



FIG. 2. SITE AT WILD'S CLAIM, WATUT RIVER, WHERE THE STONE ARTIFACTS WERE OBTAINED.

The photograph shows the result of the sluicing, leaving a bottom of blue clay. This site is 30 ft. above the present level of the Watut River. Fourteen feet of earth have been sluiced away.

when cutting a road. It is made of andesite and has four rows of symmetrical knobs, there are thirty-six well-formed knobs. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at the top of the flange $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circumference including the knobs $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

2. *Wild's claim.* Here fourteen feet of 'overburden' earth have, in places, been sluiced away leaving stones and gravel resting upon the blue clay bottom, fig. 2. On this surface were found :

A bird's head and neck carved in what probably is andesite, fig. 3. It apparently represents a cockatoo with its beak widely open; the neck has a 'thread' or circular rings similar to a windpipe. The length from the tip of the upper

beak to the tip of the lowermost spur of the crest is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the height from the tip of the second spur of the crest to the beginning of the neck is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. I have never met with anything of this kind in stone in the Territory.

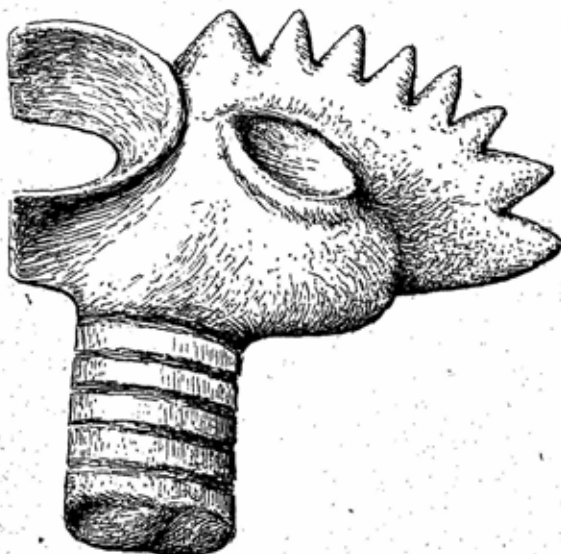


FIG. 3. BIRD'S HEAD CARVED IN STONE, WATUT RIVER.

A mushroom-shaped object carved in schist, fig. 4. The stem or neck is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and has faint traces of a 'thread.' The upper surface measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches. It appears to be a



FIG. 4. PROBLEMATICAL OBJECT MADE OF SCHIST, WATUT RIVER.

cranium with raised supraciliary ridge and protruding eye sockets.

A pestle and mortar carved in schist, fig. 5. The head of pestle is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches in circumference, the handle is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. The diameter of the top of the mortar is 8 by

8½ inches. A pestle and mortar are rarely found together.

Other objects from this site and horizon are : The head of a very worn and very irregular 'pineapple' stone-headed club with two rows of knobs, made of schist, 1½ inches high and with a total circumference of 7 inches. Two adze blades made of schist, figs. 6, 8. The larger blade is grey in colour and measures 7½ inches in length, 2½ inches in width near the edge, and 1½ inches near the butt. The smaller blade is blue in colour and is 5½ inches long, 1½ inches in greatest breadth and 1 inch near the butt. Club heads and adze blades are found fairly commonly in similar situations.

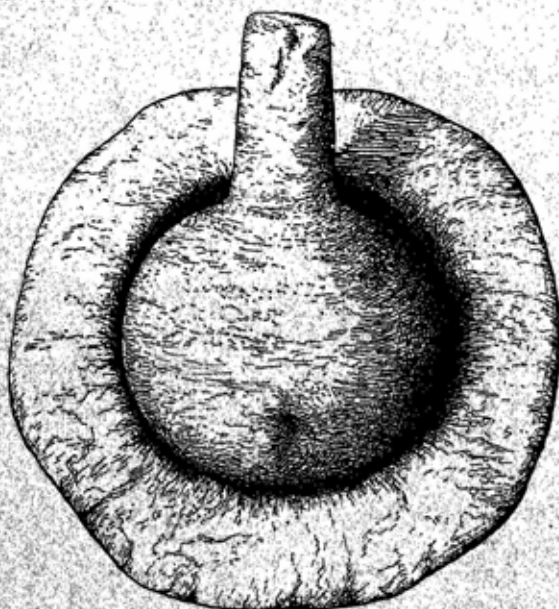


FIG. 5. PESTLE AND MORTAR OF SCHIST, WATUT RIVER.

An object, fig. 7, made of slate, elongated oval in shape; the whole of the circumference is brought to a sharp edge. It is 29 inches long and 4½ inches in greatest breadth. It was fractured by the force of water during the sluicing operations. It resembles a bullroarer in form, but there is no hole near one end. There were also found perfectly preserved masses of charcoal in the gravel and sand immediately above the blue clay bottom.

In Mr. Wild's claim were found non-human bones and teeth partly embedded in sandstone in the same horizon. Nothing can be said about these that is of any value until they have been examined by experts. In the same area Mr.

McVilly found a portion of a jawbone with teeth, which was identified as belonging to an extinct giant wombat.

Mr. McVilly, a civil engineer, has a theory that the Bulolo and Watut rivers were once part of a large lake which covered the Bulolo-Watut divide. The undulating nature of this area in contrast to the surrounding country seems to support this view.

The stone artifacts along the Watut area point to a culture in the past which was far in advance of that of the present Kuku-kuku people who

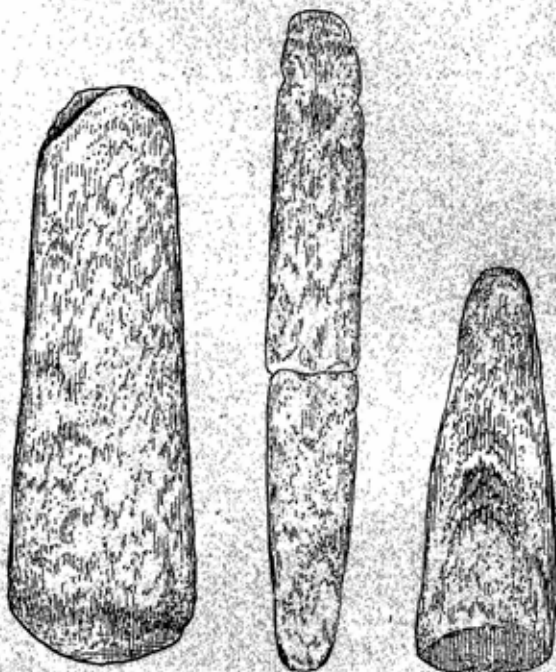


FIG. 6.

FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

FIGS. 6, 7, 8. STONE ARTIFACTS, WATUT RIVER: 6, ADZE BLADE 7½ INCHES LONG; 7, OBJECT OF SLATE, 29 INCHES LONG; 8, ADZE BLADE 5½ INCHES LONG.

possess little art or ingenuity in stone-work. They have a disc-shaped stone-headed club, with a single row of serrations round the edge, and 'pine-apple' clubs, which probably are obtained from the Tauri river on the Papuan side of the main range, and thus would be of Papuan manufacture.

The accidental unearthing of stone artifacts in the limited excavations leads one to speculate about those that may have been sluiced away, broken by the force of water from the sluicing nozzle, or those that may still remain buried.

We may safely assume that at a distant date the whole area was fairly well populated by a people of no small artistic attainments. The pestle and mortar are little, if ever, used by the present Kuku-kuku people, but a mortar with its pestle was found on Mr. Wild's claim and another pestle

at Slate creek, 25 minutes walk down the Watut, thus indicating that a former population had a diet that necessitated grinding. What happened to these people of a far superior culture to that of the present semi-nomadic inhabitants is purely conjectural.

NOTES ON MR. SHERWIN'S PAPER. By Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S.

70 The 'mushroom-shaped object' (fig. 4) somewhat resembles the upper part of an anomalous object found in a village at 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level, perhaps in the Hydrographers range or on Mount Lamington. It was called by Etheridge (R. Etheridge, Junr., 'Ancient stone implements from the Yodda valley goldfield, North-east British New Guinea,' *Records of the Australian Museum, Sydney*, VII, 1908, pp. 24-28, pl. VII), a 'phallic animal figure of horn-blende rock weighing 17 lbs., from the head waters of the Giriwo River.'

A paper 'Stone-work and goldfields in British New Guinea,' by E. W. P. Chinnery (*Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, XLIX, pp. 271-291, 1919) gives the then available information about stone pestles and mortars, stone implements and other stone artifacts in Papua and the present Mandated Territory of New Guinea. He says (p. 284) "It will be obvious to the reader that the New Guinea pestles and mortars must have been used by those who introduced them for an object not understood by the indigenous inhabitants, else why should their original use have so completely disappeared?" Neuhauss (*Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, I, p. 138, 1911), says that these mortars (which were found on the Sattelberge, Huon peninsula) served originally for the crushing of hard substances is undoubted. At the present day however the natives do not crush substances which require such strong and heavy pestles and mortars. If, as is stated, the Siassi at the present day definitely so use similar mortars for the crushing of red paint, it appears that they do so simply because these mortars are at hand. C. A. W. Monckton (*Ann. Rpt. Brit. New Guinea* 1903-04, p. 31) was the first to describe a pestle and mortar from the Yodda goldfield, Papua, and

says that the miners thought it was a 'dolly' for crushing quartz. The mortar weighed 66 lbs. and was found at a depth of 12 feet below the surface. At a gold working on the Aikora river he saw (*Last Days in New Guinea*, 1922, p. 22) a partially made stone mortar and a carved and broken stone object which he regarded as an ornate form of pestle. Also near Mount Albert Edward he saw (*l.c.* p. 37) a small stone pestle covered with red powder, it was similar to some that had been dug up in the Yodda valley and at Cape Nelson. "The red powder might mean that it had been smeared on and the stone used as a charm—as those found at Cape Nelson were used."

Dr. C. Anderson ('Fossil marsupials from New Guinea,' *Rec. Aust. Museum, Sydney*, Vol XX, 1937, pp. 73-76), has described certain fossil bones which were found in the lacustrine deposits in the region of the Watut and Bulolo rivers. On the top of these freshwater sandstones, shales, mudstones and occasional bands of conglomerate is an alluvial deposit of three or four feet at Waiganda or Roaring Creek. The age of the Nototherium mandible found on the Waiganga is uncertain. Mr. N. H. Fisher, Government Geologist of the Territory of New Guinea, is of the opinion that the freshwater beds in which it was found are Pleistocene (overlying Tertiary volcanics) or very late Tertiary.

It would seem that the sluicing operations are of such a nature that it is difficult if not impossible to say at what precise horizon the artifact occurred. The specimens described by Mr. Sherwin could not have come from the lacustrine deposits as that would make them of far too great an antiquity. The drawings were made by Mr. A. C. Himus as carefully as possible from very small photographs supplied by Mr. Sherwin.

EXHIBITION OF ANTIQUITIES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

Antiquities from the Bay Islands, Honduras, collected by Lord Moyne, P.C., D.S.O., and photographs by Lady Broughton, to be exhibited at 10 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1, 19-31 May, 1938.

During the summer of 1937 a brief visit was paid to the Bay Islands off the coast of British Honduras, and in three weeks a collection of over 3,000 pieces was made of the antiquities of the former inhabitants of the islands, from sites known to the present day

natives. Both the stone and pottery objects, which make up most of the collection, show great ranges of development of design and form: some of the specimens have features typical of the earliest pre-Aztec culture of the Mexican Valley, often termed the Archaic period, while others have characteristics which indicate an evolutionary period extending from the end of the first millennium to the beginning of the XVth century. The original natives were exterminated in the XVIIth century by the Spanish colonists, and so almost nothing is known of them except that which can be deduced from the archaeology of the region. A collection has been made for American Museums, but hitherto there has been very little material in England.

Very few traces of burials or of skeletal material were found. Nor was there any other evidence to suggest that the great majority of the specimens were of a funerary character. The shallow overlying soil, which did not reveal any stratification, may have been due partly to vegetable growth, and partly to hillwash.

The collection of over 1,200 pots has been arranged for this exhibition partly to show the development of decorative motifs, and partly in characteristic form series. The groups are as follows:—

1. Plain undecorated globular and wide mouthed vases.
2. Vases ornamented with impressed and incised designs.
3. Vases with applied zoomorphic designs.
4. Ornamented bowls.
5. Tall cylindrical vases, similar to Ulloa Valley ware.
6. Tripod vases showing Maya influence.
7. Handles, human and zoomorphic.
8. Plain bowls and dishes of fine and crude wares.
9. Zoomorphic ocarinas with four stops.
10. Figurines, human and animal.

About a third of the collection consists of stone objects, including grinding stones (*metates*), pestles and mortars, maceheads, celts, hoes or spades, and carved beads and pendants of various coloured stones, including jade, rock crystal and soapstone.

There are also fragments of rather crude pottery from shell mounds on Swan Island, 110 miles from the mainland of Honduras, in which no European influence is observable.

It will be seen that this collection is of great interest not only archaeologically, but also from the point of view of evolution in design. One advantage of such a large collection is that it enables us to verify and demonstrate such evolution in a thoroughly convincing manner, by providing all the links in the chain, and leaving no gaps to be filled in by the imagination.

It is unfortunate that there is no stratificatory evidence, or evidence of association of particular types of objects with each other. In default of such data one cannot be sure of their chronological sequence or of their proper cultural grouping. But stylistically the evidence points to strong influence at various times from such widely separated regions as Panama and Costa Rica, Honduras, and Mexico. The islands may well have served as a trading station in pre-Columbian times, as the Pearl Islands did on the Pacific Coast, whereby influences from various quarters, north and south, would have been received and re-distributed.

Lady Broughton is showing a series of photographs dealing with people and scenery in Greenland, Central and South America, the West Indian Islands, and French West Africa, which she took during the cruise of M. Y. 'Rosaura.' A film of travel in the same regions is shown each evening at 5.30 p.m.

R. W. FEACHAM and H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

OBITUARY.

Bishop Herbert William Williams: born 1860, died 7th December, 1937.

72 On 7th December, 1937, the Right Reverend H. W. Williams, Bishop of Waiapu, died at his home at Bishopscourt, Napier, New Zealand. He was born in 1860 at Waeranga-a-Hika, Poverty Bay, and was educated at Christ's College, Christchurch (New Zealand); Canterbury College, where he took his B.A. and M.A., and Cambridge, where he was a Rustat Scholar, and graduated B.A. in 1884 and M.A. in 1887. Although not a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Bishop Williams was known personally to many Fellows, and was widely esteemed as one of the greatest Maori scholars in the Dominion. In this field, as in his occupation of the episcopal chair, he carried on the tradition of his family. His grandfather, Bishop William Williams, who arrived in New Zealand in 1826, was consecrated first Bishop of Waiapu in 1859; his father, Bishop W. L. Williams, was consecrated to the same See in 1895, and he himself was consecrated to it in 1930.

A great deal of our present systematic knowledge of the structure and vocabulary of the Maori language is due to the labours of the Williams family. H. W. Williams published in 1917 the fifth edition of the 'Dictionary of the Maori Language,' of which the first edition had been issued by his grandfather in 1844, and a later edition revised by his father. For this work he was given honorary doctorates by the Universities of New Zealand and Cambridge. In 1923 he published the seventh (revised) edition of 'First Lessons in Maori,' first published by his father as an expanded version of the introductory 'Grammar' of his grandfather's 'Dictionary.' In 1924 he published a 'Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900,' which provides an invaluable companion volume (and corrective) to Hocken's 'Bibliography.'

Although primarily a philologist, Bishop Williams was keenly interested in Maori ethnography, and published several papers on general topics. The last, which appeared in the 'Journal of the Polynesian Society' (September, 1937), dealt with the

'Maruiwi Myth,' and revealed how he preserved even in his 77th year his critical faculty and scholarly approach to a problem. In promoting the study of Maori anthropology Bishop Williams took an active part. He was elected a Fellow of the New Zealand Institute (now the Royal Society of New Zealand) in 1923, and for nine years before his death he had been President of the Polynesian Society.

In addition, he was a good friend of the Maori people, and was admired by them for his deep knowledge of the native language, which he spoke with the full idiom of an elder generation; as well as for his learning in ancient songs, ritual formulae and traditional custom, a learning surpassing that of many of the older Maori themselves. With the passing of S. Percy Smith and of Elsdon Best he stood practically alone as a European authority in this field. His strong and vigorous personality, his capacity for taking firm decisions on matters in dispute, and his long family connexions with the Maori people gave him a unique position as an adviser on their affairs. As such he commanded their respect, even if not always their agreement. His pride of family and conviction of the benefits that mission policy had brought were not unnaturally prominent elements in his attitude to the situations of changing Maori culture. As Vice-Principal and then Principal of Te Rau Native Theological College, Gisborne, and later Superintendent of Maori Missions on the East Coast, he exercised a great influence on many of the young Maori leaders.

Not a few students of Maori institutions and language have reason to be grateful to Bishop Williams for the encouragement and help he gave them in their early work. Though he did not himself take up many of the wider problems of Maori anthropology he was interested in the application of scientific method to them, and appreciative of the results obtained. His judgment, his meticulous accuracy, and his broad grasp of the issues involved in a subject allow it to be said of him, as he himself once said to me of another noted Polynesian scholar "He has never published any poor work." A modest epitaph, it is nevertheless one that few scientists have earned.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

Georg Thilenius : born October, 1868—28th December, 1937.

73 In the passing of Dr. Georg Thilenius we lose one of those pioneers of anthropology who without the benefit of any early specialized training yet lived to see this science develop into a world wide study of primitive man. Few of us to-day realize the trials and difficulties of these early pioneers, struggling without adequate means of expression to convey their new-found theories to a public ill-trained to appreciate these new thoughts and ideas.

Thilenius was born on 4th October, 1868, at Bad Soden (im Taunus). As a boy he attended the French Grammar School in Berlin and the Monastic

School in Hamburg. In studying medicine and natural history he observed the tradition which for 200 years had existed on his father's side of the family.

From 1888-1892 he studied at Bonn, Berlin, and was successful in taking his doctorate as well as the State examination; in the following year he became assistant physician to Waldeyer in Berlin.

In 1893 he was appointed assistant at the Anatomical Institute in Strassburg, under Schwalbe, and here became acquainted with problems in comparative anatomy and anthropology.

In 1896 he was engaged in field work in Southern Tunis and it was here that his attention was first directed to ethnographical research.

In 1897 he was commissioned by the Prussian Academy of Sciences to make a two-year expedition to New Zealand, during which he was able to visit a number of the South Sea islands and to make collections of ethnographical and zoological material. It was as a result of his experiences with the natives of Samoa and New Guinea that he decided to devote his life to the study of ethnography.

In 1900 he was commissioned by the Prussian Ministry of Education to report on the medical exhibits at the World Exhibition in Paris. In the same year he was appointed extraordinary professor of ethnology and anthropology at Breslau, where he formed a small institute, which worked in collaboration with the pre-history department of the Schlesische Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer.

In 1904 he was recalled to Hamburg as Director of the Museum für Völkerkunde which was reorganized and extended and in 1912 rebuilt.

In 1907 he was engaged in the organization of a two-year South Sea expedition for the Hamburg Institute, as well as the preparations for the 1908 opening of the Hamburg Colonial Institute.

In 1920 he became Rector of the Hamburg University. In the following years he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Chairman of the German Anthropological Society, and in 1930 President of the XXIV International Congress of Americanists, which was held in Hamburg.

He held the office of correspondent to many European anthropological societies and was the author of numerous publications as well as editor of the monumental '*Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition, 1908-1910*,' still in progress.

In 1931 he received the well-merited award of the Huxley Medal when he lectured before the Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

To those who were happy to claim his friendship, Thilenius will always be remembered for his genial personality and distinguished dignity. No greater memorial perpetuates his memory than his work at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde.

H. G. BEASLEY.

REVIEWS.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

Entstehung der Menschenrassen. By Dr. Hans Weinert, Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Anthropological Institute in the University of Kiel. Stuttgart (Ferdinand Enke) 1937. 313 pp. Figs. 102. Price not stated.

Professor Hans Weinert, of Kiel, has brought out another important study in human evolution, on this occasion bearing on the origin of the races of mankind. Of late years I have been much attracted to the work of the Professor of Anthropology in the University of Kiel. He has, as had the German anatomists of my youth, a profound and practical knowledge of human skulls; his reconstruction of fossil pieces are the best known to me.

The work he has now published interests me greatly for it reveals an outlook on the problems relating to the origin of human races not unlike my own. I do not think Dr. Weinert knows anything of what I have written at various times in the last quarter of a century. We have both of us looked at the facts revealed in fossil remains of man and sought a way of explaining the origin of human races in time and place. Our answers are very similar. Our thoughts have moved independently in the same direction—exemplifying the law of 'parallel evolution' in which we both believe.

Both of us—and I dare suppose many others too—have come to the conclusion that the fossil remains of Java can be interpreted in only one way—namely, that the Australian aborigine of to-day is the direct descendant of Pithecanthropus, and that the evolution of Homo sapiens in Java has taken place quite independently of the evolution of modern humanity in other parts of the world. Dr. Weinert hesitates over the evolution of the Mongolian stock; he looks favourably on Sinanthropus as a possible Mongolian ancestor, but, before drawing a definite inference, prefers to wait for the discovery of fossil forms which will link the various mongolian races to Sinanthropus. He is quite inclined to regard the Aino as a possible descendant of Sinanthropus, but, in the meantime, places him amongst the *Europides*.

Nor will Dr. Weinert accept Rhodesian Man as a probable link in the evolution of the African negro. Yet he himself—at least so it seems to me—supplies just the evidence needed to give Rhodesian Man a place in the family tree of African native races. Photographs are given of his construction of the early fossil human type found by Dr. Kohl-Larsen in Tanganyika Territory in 1935 and of which a preliminary account appeared in *Nature* (26 December, 1936, p. 1083). Dr. Weinert regards the Njarasa skull (Ezassi, Dr. Leakey has named it in his communication to *Nature*), as a representative of an early genus of humanity he has now named *Africanthropus*. I would go a long way with him when he claims that human skulls may date the stratum in which they lie, just as stone cultures do. Well, in Dr. Weinert's opinion this East African fossil specimen—which Dr. Leakey regarded as upper pleistocene in date—represents the early pleistocene stage of human evolution—the stage represented by Pithecanthropus and by Sinanthropus. I think such an interpretation of the East African skull is acceptable until a better is given. In the fossil fragments of the East African 'anthropus' I see many resemblances to 'Homo rhodesiensis'—particularly in the facial and jaw fragments. *Africanthropus* seems to me to be an early stage in the evolution of the Rhodesian type just as the Florisbad, Springbok and other South African fossil

skulls with Australoid markings represent later stages in the evolution of a true African type.

It seems to me that Dr. Weinert has compressed and hurried the later stages of human evolution far beyond what the evidence now at our disposal will permit. For example, he supposes that the human stem was separated from that of the chimpanzees towards the end of the pliocene and that the separation of mankind into diverse races has been effected in later pleistocene times. He holds that human races received their final and distinctive touches at the close of the pleistocene. For my part I would place these evolutionary events further back in the geological calendar. Even Dr. Weinert can be 'old-fashioned.' He clings to the idea that in human evolution all parts of the body changed at the same time and to a corresponding degree. He apparently cannot accept the idea that man's body was modified for upright posture and progression long before head, teeth and brain had lost their simian traits. Yet the evidence from Java seems to leave us in no doubt that such was the order of events. He rejects the femur of Pithecanthropus.

The most revolutionary conception brought forward by Dr. Weinert is his division of man's evolution during the pleistocene period into three stages. The first of these he names the 'anthropus' stage—reached early in the pleistocene and represented in Java by Pithecanthropus, in China by Sinanthropus, and in Africa by Africanthropus. The second stage he names 'Neanderthal' (a clumsy name), reached in mid-pleistocene times and represented in Java by Homo soloensis, in China by the most highly developed of the Sinanthropus, in Africa by Homo rhodesiensis, in Europe by H. neanderthalensis. The third stage—attained in later pleistocene times—he names the 'Cromagnon' stage. In Java this stage is exemplified by Wadjak man; in Africa by Boskop man, and in Europe by Cromagnon man. The third stage in Mongolian evolution has not been found as yet.

Perhaps it would have been well if a new series of names had been coined for these three stages. He might have coined names from the changes from dawn to daylight. His first stage represents the human dawn, the second, man's morning; and the third, his full day. Nowhere does Dr. Weinert say plainly that all the main racial divisions of mankind—the division into white, yellow and black stems—have gone through these stages independently, but I see no other construction that can be placed on his statements.

What of Eoanthropus, which is regarded by Sir Arthur Smith Woodward as the Dawn form of humanity? Dr. Weinert's perceptions, usually so acute and quick, seem somewhat blunted when they come up against the fossil man of Piltdown. This early pleistocene fossil form of humanity does not fit well into the general scheme of evolution outlined by Dr. Weinert. The skull is too modern and the mandible too anthropoid to fit into his conception of human evolution. And yet if Dr. Weinert is right in supposing that the separation of the ancestral lines of man and chimpanzee took place in late pliocene times, what is more likely than an early pleistocene man with a mandible still bearing on it the stamp of the anthropoid? He admits that in the skull there are ancient traits as well as modern. Lately, after the passage of a quarter of a century, I have gone back to the study of the Piltdown fragments. My interest was re-awakened by a most valuable discovery made by Mr. Marston, the intact occipital and left parietal

of a young man who lived in Kent in later acheulean times. Very few fossil remains of man are so certainly and accurately dated as the Swanscombe man. Far from the Piltdown skull being modern in its anatomical characterizations, it has in it several features which are anthropoid in nature, just as anthropoid are the traits in the mandible, some of these features are retained in the Swanscombe skull. I feel certain that when Dr. Weinert again goes over the evidence to be obtained from a restudy of the Piltdown skull, he will accept it in its entirety and give it a place in his anthropus stage, and congratulate Sir Arthur Smith Woodward in his choice of names—Eoanthropus. And perhaps he will accept Swanscombe man as a representation of his second stage.

Indeed, I, for one, would do this straight away but for the Steinheim skull, which Dr. Weinert described in 1936 (*Zeitsch. f. M.u.A.*, Vol. 35, p. 463), and which he employs as a basis of many weighty inferences unfolded in his present book. The Steinheim woman he regards as pre-Neanderthal, her date lying late in the Riss glaciation or in the earliest phase of the last interglacial, and, therefore, not so far from the Swanscombe man in point of time. Now the Steinheim skull, although stamped with Neanderthal features, has its parietal and occipital fashioned much as in modern skulls—in this resembling the skulls of the Palestinians, investigated and described by McCown and myself. Swanscombe may be of the Steinheim race but he can equally well be the lineal descendant of Piltdown. And the London skull may prove to be the evolutionary issue of the Swanscombe stock. Only the discovery of the frontal parts of the Swanscombe and London skulls can settle our doubts.

Amongst the many merits of Dr. Weinert's new work is his insistence on maps—as a substitute for diagrams of family trees. We can be certain of the origin of modern races only when our discoveries of fossil man are sufficiently numerous, in space and in time, to permit us to chart maps of the distribution of mankind at every phase of the pleistocene period.

I have said enough to give readers an idea of the scope of Dr. Weinert's *Entstehung der Menschenrassen*, and of the wealth of data and originality of mind which it displays. To my way of thinking it is the best treatise available for all students of man's evolution.

ARTHUR KEITH.

Pleistocene Man in Minnesota. A Fossil Homo Sapiens. By Albert Ernest Jenks. With a

chapter on 'The Pleistocene Geology of the Prairie Lake Region.' By George A. Thiel. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936. xiii+197 pp., 89 illustrations. Price (Oxford University Press) 34s.

In spite of the fact that Dr. Hrdlička appears to have been fully successful in discrediting all the earlier discoveries alleged to demonstrate the existence of man in America in palaeolithic times, there were many who felt confident that proof of his early occupation of the continent would ultimately be found. In 1931 the evidence required was apparently found in a nearly complete human skeleton excavated in Minnesota, and, if the age claimed for it is authentic, this furnishes evidence of a remarkably complete kind. In other parts of the world only a small proportion of the excavations yielding evidence of man's existence in pleistocene times have provided human bones, and when found the bones have usually consisted of no more than small fragments of skeletons. The discovery of an unusually complete specimen as the first evidence of palaeolithic man in a particular area must thus be considered a most extraordinary event. But such *a priori* considerations

should not hamper an impartial examination of the claim advanced.

The skeleton of the so-called Minnesota man—though that of an immature female—was discovered when repairs to a road were being carried out. It lay 'fully' 10 feet and possibly 12 feet below the surface, in lake silts. Most of the bones were removed by workmen, and they reported that a clam-shell was found near the skeleton, and that a dagger of antler was about 10 inches from it. A shell pendant was found among the ribs. The silt above and around the skeleton is said to have been in an undisturbed condition, and there was no evidence of a landslide. The site was re-dug twice in 1932, and on the second occasion some of the missing parts of the skeleton were found. Professor Thiel concludes that it lay in undisturbed sediment of late pleistocene origin. It is assigned to the waning of the last substage of the last (Wisconsin) glacial epoch, and an age 'greater than eighteen thousand and less than twenty-five thousand years' is suggested.

The clam-shell belongs to a species which was common in Minnesota from late pleistocene times until to-day, so it is of no value as evidence of antiquity. The dagger is not more helpful. It was fashioned from the antler of an elk which was native in the locality from late pleistocene times until recent years. The butt end is perforated, but this and the bevelling give no indication of date. The conch shell pendant represents a marine snail which is not found to-day nearer than the coasts of Florida. There were thus no animal remains or human artifacts found in association with the skeleton which can establish its pleistocene age, and demonstration of this has to depend on stratigraphical evidence alone.

This last conclusion presupposes that the skeleton provides no clear evidence of its own antiquity. The bones are mineralized, but their condition does not prove that they are of a geological age. The skeleton is remarkably complete apart from the bones of the feet and left hand which are missing. Only a few small parts of the skull are absent, but these unfortunately include the nasal bones. All teeth are present in both jaws except a single incisor lost after the recovery of the specimen. It is at least possible that the skeleton was in a perfect state of preservation before its disinterment. Its condition certainly tells against a pleistocene age, but such an argument is certainly not a decisive one. Finally, it may be asked whether the specimen has any anatomical features which denote antiquity. It belongs without question to the species *Homo sapiens*, but so do all the late palaeolithic skeletons discovered in other parts of the world. The few unusual features exhibited by 'Minnesota man' throw no light on the question of its age, so it cannot be said to exhibit any clear evidence either for or against the antiquity claimed for it.

The greater part of Professor Jenks's book is taken up with a detailed description of the specimen, and a comparison with data available for prehistoric individuals and modern series. The sex is female and the age at death was about 15 years. A list is given of a number of characteristics of the skull which are supposed to be primitive, but it is probable that these might be found in more extreme forms on examining a long series representing any modern race. There are two U-shaped grooves, on either side of theinion, which are almost unique, but these appear to be of no phylogenetic significance. Considered as a whole the facial skeleton is orthognathous, but there is marked sub-nasal prognathism. Individuals showing such an unusual combination of these two features can be found in modern series, however. The same appears to be true for a host of other features of the skull and other parts of the skeleton to which attention is drawn. The incisors are shovel-shaped,

for example, and this peculiarity is observed with differing frequencies among all, or nearly all, modern races. The estimated stature of 155 cm. is quite unexceptional.

By considering a number of cranial characters singly Professor Jenks concludes that the skeleton he describes represents 'a very primitive *Homo sapiens*.' By applying Professor Hooton's method of 'morphological rating' he confirms this conclusion, but it may still be questioned. Interesting and suggestive as this latter method is, there can be no guarantee that anyone else will assign the same score to a new specimen as Professor Hooton would. And, even if the result were unaffected by the personal bias of the observer, there can be no guarantee that many European skulls, say, might not be found which would be rated as low, or lower, than the Minnesota specimen. Equally unconvincing is the conclusion, derived from a comparison of both qualitative and quantitative characters, that the skeleton represents 'an early type 'of evolving Mongoloid,' American Indians being included in the Mongoloid group of races.

In the reviewer's opinion, Professor Jenks endeavours to get far more out of the single individual available to him than anyone can hope to with any degree of safety. If the specimen had been found in the corner of a

museum, with no record of its origin, it is unlikely that any anthropologist would have considered it particularly primitive, and the idea of it being an early type of Mongoloid would have been most unlikely to occur to him. The fact that the skeleton is of the modern type would probably have been accepted without question, but experience has shown that it is impossible to assign single specimens of this type even to the major varieties of the species with any hope of success in all cases. Individual variation is far too great for all human populations that have hitherto been adequately described to make it possible to obtain any true estimate of group characteristics from a single individual.

But whatever their views on these questions may be, anthropologists are indebted to Professor Jenks for his comprehensive description of the individual who apparently has an excellent claim to be considered the earliest known American. All the photographs and diagrams in his book are effective. All the comparative data used are taken from Martin's *Lehrbuch*—in which the tables of measurements are by no means ideally presented—and from American publications. It is to be hoped that there is no question of applying the Monroe doctrine to scientific literature. G. M. M.

SOCIOLOGY

Studien über die empirischen Grundlagen des Zauberglaubens bei Primitiven; eine grundsätzliche Untersuchung, durchgeführt an Einzelbeispielen des Raumüberwindungszaubers in Micronesien und dargestellt unter Benützung des Erzählungsgutes der Eingeborenen.
By Dr. Otto Schneider. Leipzig, 1937. 93 pp.

This study forms No. 13 of the ethnological series which is being issued by Dr. Reiche and Dr. Plischke, the first twelve volumes having been already published.

The importance of ethno-psychology is beginning to be widely recognized, and Dr. Schneider's dissertation indicates a fruitful source of research. The subject he has chosen is an analysis of the empirical foundations of the belief in Magic of so-called 'primitive' ethnic groups, basing his research on the conceptions of the magical conquest of space or distance occurring among the natives of Yap, Palau and Nauru in Micronesia. His chief sources are Müller (Wismar) for Yap; Krämer for Palau; Hambruch for Nauru; and he gives frequent references to the Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits. Dr. Schneider has chosen certain stories current among the folk on which to base his conclusions, because in these are found the expression of their spirit life and mentality. The objects to the word 'folk-lore' as describing these stories, because 'lore' presupposes criteria of values in art or learning; and the words 'myths,' 'legends,' 'fables' should be used with discrimination. So the author states that he has coined the word 'Erzählungsgut' ('story-wealth' or perhaps 'treasury of tales'). In the course of his work he coins another word 'Geistinnen,' meaning apparently 'female spirits,' not 'the spirits of females.'

The structure of the book is as follows:—Description

of method; signification of the terminology; magic and conquest of space; psychic situation and psychic contents of the group; sources of his research; the empirical foundation of the belief in magic by primitives, including the statement of the question; the relation between man and spirit; magic progression, through air, overland and under the earth, over and under water; the idea of 'ascent' as an intermediary factor; conceptions of magic, and reality by primitives, conclusions, etc.

In his designation of 'primitives,' Dr. Schneider includes all ethnic groups without a 'script,' as a working description, but this does not seem quite satisfactory, for it is difficult to tell the dividing line between pictorial signs and writing.

One important point as regards magic is well stressed. What we consider magic is not necessarily so to primitives, as all the functions of their daily life are inseparably bound up with what we name 'magic,' which may be either religion or even sometimes 'sorcery' to them.

The whole cultural background must be considered. The author traces the gradual transition of the 'natural' to the 'supernatural,' as from one level of consciousness to another; and the means of transition, such as 'following in the footsteps of a leader,' for example, are discussed. The reader wonders in what level of consciousness the ideas of aeroplanes, ships, submarines, trains, etc., began. But one is left with the impression that this thesis is a very useful little contribution to applied psychology.

The style of writing is somewhat involved at times. Is it necessary, even in the German language, to have so many single sentences comprising between sixty and seventy words? E. D. E.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Regulation of Marriage in Epi and Nguna.

77 SIR,—It was stated on the authority of the notes left by the late A. B. Deacon, that marriage in Epi followed the cross-cousin rule.¹ It now appears that

¹ See A. B. Deacon, Notes on some islands of the New Hebrides, edited by Miss C. Wedgwood in *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, LIX, p. 461 pp.

this is not true for the whole island, but only for the western side, from which Deacon gained his information. A letter written by the late Rev. J. Smail in 1893, while he was a missionary on the island, contains some answers to anthropological and linguistic questions put by the late Rev. Dr. Gunn, then on Futuna. It deals with marriage in Nikaura district, which is situated in north east Epi. The language notes, however, are

in the dialect of Tasiko, in the south-east, so that it looks as though information from the one area covers the second also, and that the entire eastern side of the island deviates from Deacon's statement. The map will make clear the divisions in question:—



FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF EPI ISLAND.

Place names are in small letters; district and dialect names in capitals.

According to the information preserved in Mr. Smaill's letter, cross-cousin marriage was forbidden in Tasiko-Nikaura districts, and the standard marriage was with the daughter of the father's sister's daughter or father's sister's son. Mr. Smaill expresses it rather clumsily, but his statement is:—"First cousins never marry, but if there are a brother and a sister, and they have children, the brother's child being a son and the sister's a son or daughter, and that child gets married and has a daughter, she is the wife of her mother's cousin." Diagrammatically, thus:—

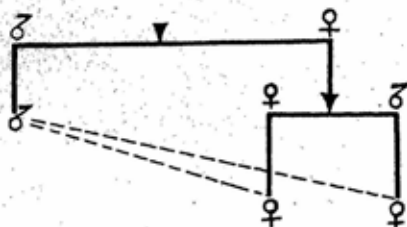


FIG. 2. STANDARD MARRIAGE IN TASIKO-NIKAU DISTRICTS.

The two possible cases are entered on the one diagram to save space, but the diagram would be rather different if done in full. Moreover there is no information regarding the social structure of Tasiko-Nikaura. The relationship terms, unfortunately are short of some important members, but those given are as follows, and may be compared with Deacon's which, however, differ to some extent from the Baki and are apparently Bierebo dialect:

- apua*: grandfather, grandmother, husband's father, husband's mother.
arima: father, father's brother.
ane: mother, mother's sister.
naru: child, father's brother's child, mother's sister's child, brother's child (m.s.).
ruezi: brother (m.s.), father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
vino: sister (m.s.), father's brother's daughter (m.s.), mother's sister's daughter (m.s.).
ymano: brother (w.s.), father's brother's son (w.s.), mother's sister's son (w.s.).

- ina*: sister (w.s.), father's brother's daughter (w.s.), mother's sister's daughter (w.s.).
miaru: father's sister's child (m.s.), mother's brother's child (m.s.), sister's child (m.s.).
apogbwa: father's sister's child (w.s.), mother's brother's child (w.s.), brother's child (w.s.).
mwapi: grandchild, son's wife.
viyo: father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law.
ropi: mother-in-law (w.s.) (used in gospel translation of Matthew 19: 35).
o: spouse.

Possessive suffixes have been omitted and the bare stems given. Unfortunately the term for 'mother's brother' is not given. Space does not allow of a linguistic analysis of Epi terms in all dialects; suffice it to say there is a strong Polynesian tinge, especially in Bieri. The only thing that seems at all probable is the existence of the six-class system in this part of Epi. The use of the same term for 'mother's mother,' 'mother's father,' 'husband's mother' and 'husband's father,' seems to point in this direction, but the matter needs to be gone into on the spot, if it is still possible to do so. In Baki there is no appearance of the term *miaru* or a cognate of it. In Baki, the 'mother's brother' is *komarua*, a phonetic variant of the common word *matua*, 'elder,' with the normal Baki prefix.

The brother's son marries his father's sister's granddaughter. She is already grandchild of her husband's father's sister, so that now she becomes by marriage his daughter-in-law as well. Accordingly we find *mwapi-na*, his grandchild, also meaning his son's wife. There is also a proper term for this, *viyo-na*. This term is not exclusively Polynesian, but predominantly so, and seems to suggest the meeting of two different systems.

In Nguna there is a good deal of resemblance in actual terms, and in their usage. It is impossible to print them all here, though a full list is available; but it can safely be said that if the six-class system really held good in Epi, it did not extend further south. In Nguna, as in Efate, there was a totemic clan-system, the totems being stones, fish, food plants and the rat. The only thing that can definitely be said is that the relationship terms point to a matrilineal moiety-system. The question of the marriage to the mother's brother's widow is ruled out, because in Nguna widows were strangled, as farther south. Cross-cousin marriage is stated to have been forbidden.

Sufficient has been stated in a communication that considerations of space make rather patchy, to show there is a clear line of demarcation south of Epi, while in Epi itself the Nguna system held good on the western side, but something very like the Ambrym system on the east. If it is still possible, in view of the excessive depopulation of the island, to ascertain the facts, it will probably be found that Ambrym and Paama have largely influenced this area.

A. CAPELL.

'Tingani' in Northern Nigeria.

78 **SIR**.—In his recent book 'Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe,' p 24, Dr. C. K. Meek has a footnote, as follows: "Among a number of tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast the Earth-deity is known as Tingani. As this word seems to embody the same name (Ani) as the Ibo Earth-deity, Dr. Rattray's suggestion that Tingani is derived from 'ti' = 'trees' and 'gane' = 'surpass' and refers to the 'sacred groves of the Earth-deity seems hardly probable."

May I venture to correct a statement which is likely to mislead Dr. Meek's readers, in particular as he

nowhere refers to Dr. Rattray's ethnographic study of the Northern Territories tribes ("Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland") but cites only his romantic novel "The Leopard Priestess"—a book which, I am sure, Dr. Rattray would hardly regard as a scientific contribution.

The derivation of *Tingani*, attributed to him in the footnote I have cited, is not given anywhere in Rattray's ethnographic study of the Northern Territory tribes. I believe that it was actually proposed by someone else at an International Congress a few years ago, and was then objected to by Rattray. This is not to be wondered at, since it betrays a profound ignorance both of the languages and of the cultures of the population concerned. The term has nothing to do with either *ti* or *Ant*. It occurs in the following variations: *Tengane*, *tengwane*, *teyghan*, *tengban*, and similar forms, in the area referred to by Dr. Meek. It is compounded, as every native knows, of the word for the Earth or Land *tey*, which becomes *tey* in compound words in the Dagbani dialects, and the word *goy* plural *gana*, in the Mole dialects, *gboy* plural *gbana* in the Dagbani dialects meaning 'skin' (surfaces). The term *tengboy* or *teygon* is often used in a secular sense to signify a particular stretch of country with the things that dwell thereon. *Tengane* therefore means 'a sacred place' on the surface of the Earth, and generally refers to a sacred grove. Dr. Rattray considers that the Earth is personified as a goddess by the tribes dealt with in his book, and Dr. Meek has accepted this interpretation. In my own area of field-work in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast I did not find this personification of the mystical power of the Earth; but the ritual ideas of these people are so fluid that this is possibly only a local variation. M. FORTES.

Tridents and Spear-rests. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 29.)

79 SIR.—In reference to Mr. Arkell's letter (MAN, 1938, 29):—

I venture to suggest that the pseudo-'tridents,' which were illustrated by Mr. Arkell, (Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. xv, Part II, 1932, Plate xii. See also the Catalogue of the Ethnographical Collection in the Museum of the Royal Geographical Society Cairo by the late Mr. Thomas), and described by him as 'shaiba,' are Turkish musket rests. They were used by the Bashi Bazuk in the Sudan until about 1870. The natives used them for some time later, as the recoil from the firearms, if held to the shoulder, generally knocked them over. I have traced these rests to Abyssinia and East Africa. They were frequently captured from the troops in the Sudan and retained as trophies.

Mr. H. C. Jackson in his *Yacubabi* does not share the views of Mr. Arkell in respect to this family. Speaking from memory they also figure in Judge Peacock's *History of the Gezireh Land Settlement*.

I have been in communication with Mr. Arkell, prior to the publication of his paper, regarding some of the statements which he has made, but cannot agree with his assumptions as conclusive. I am not aware that all-metal spears or javelins are peculiar to the Tuareg. They are found among most tribes in Africa, and are generally attributed to some eponymous ancestral Tubal Cain. Some are made of imported trade rod-iron (wrought), but others may be welded. By the courtesy of the officials at the British Museum some have been examined and drawings made, as I am recording them for historical purposes in connexion with African metallurgy.

The Tuareg bibliography (in French) is most extensive; I have only read a mere fraction. It is some years since I visited Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli.

The Fang bibliography comprised the following little known works:—

H. C. Jackson "The Yacubabi" Omdurman
W. Nicholls "The Shaigia" London, 1912
H. C. Jackson "Tooth of Fire"
A. E. Robinson "Notes on the Fung Regalia" (J. African Soc.)

and numerous papers (since Mr. Arkell's paper) in Sudan Notes and Records.

There is no evidence whatever of a Fung or Hameg language. The word 'Fung' may be a generic one meaning aboriginal or cultivator similar to 'Hameg' which Barth stated meant wanderer.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

Facts and Superstitions. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 57.)

80 SIR.—Since Mr. Lethbridge (MAN, 1938, 57) gives this book his unqualified approval, perhaps a word of criticism may be permitted.

Professor Collingwood follows the old-fashioned method of combining his sources into a continuous narrative. This method is, of course, quite unscientific, but little harm follows if the sources are made clear in the footnotes. Our sole authority for the campaign of Ostorius against Caratacus, for example, is Tacitus, and one would expect that Professor Collingwood, even if he did not give a literal translation, would at any rate follow Tacitus and give full references. Professor Collingwood not merely paraphrases Tacitus without mentioning his name, but adds several details, such as a stone-walled fort and an attack in several columns, which Tacitus does not mention.

On p. 101 Suetonius is made to send 'a galloper to summon the Second legion from Gloucester,' yet in a footnote on p. 95 Professor Collingwood admits that 'there is no proof that the Second or any other legion ever had a fortress at Gloucester.' The galloper is also hypothetical.

As regards Arthur, Professor Collingwood makes him plausible by suppressing most of what Nennius, the sole authority, says of him, and replacing it with data drawn from his own imagination.

Mr. Myres is far less open to criticism, but even he deals with his sources in a manner which seems strange. We know of Hengist only in connexion with Horsa, and of Stuf only in connexion with Wihtgar. Mr. Myres regards Horsa and Wihtgar as probably fictitious, but has no doubts at all about the historicity of Hengist and Stuf. If the truth of half a sentence can be questioned, why should the other half be sacrosanct? We shall have no reliable history until our historians grasp the elementary fact that a narrative which is partly untrue is wholly unreliable. RAGLAN.

Pottery-making in Nigeria: A Correction.

81 SIR.—In my book *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (I, p. 165) it is stated that, among the Gwari and Katab tribes, potters commonly use a basket as a mould, and that "in the process of firing, the basket is carbonized, the print of the wickerwork being left in the inside of the pot."

This information, which was obtained at second hand in 1920, would now seem to be incorrect. Recent inquiries (kindly made by Mr. P. G. Harris, the Resident of the Niger Province) show that in some groups of the Gwari a basket mould is used in fashioning the lower part of a large pot, the mould being lined inside with the clay. But before the process of firing the mould is removed. And thus what appeared to be a particularly interesting method of pottery-making, in view of its relation to one of the theories of the origin of pottery, is now seen to be merely commonplace. I very much regret the original error. C. K. MEEK.



FIG. 1. THE MEETING ROOM AND COUNCIL ROOM ON THE FIRST FLOOR.
Photograph by Mr. H. J. Brauholtz.



FIG. 2. THE READING ROOM ON THE GROUND FLOOR.
Photograph by Messrs. Larkin Bros.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: NEW PREMISES:
21, BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C.1.

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Institute

With Plate F.

Firth

THE NEW PREMISES OF THE INSTITUTE. *By Raymond Firth, Honorary Secretary.*

82 In 1937 the approaching expiry of the lease of our house at 52, Upper Bedford Place made it imperative for the Institute to find a new home. Suitable premises were difficult to find, but at last those of 21, Bedford Square were secured on a lease of fourteen years. The transference of the Library and other properties of the Institute began in April last.

The new premises are easily accessible, near the centre of London, and close to the University and the British Museum. The situation is a pleasant one, the front windows overlooking the gardens of the square.

The demands of the Institute for space are extremely varied. They arise from the answering of anthropological queries of all kinds, the housing of our Library, stocks of publications, photographic and other collections, the provision of accommodation for Meetings, Discussion Groups, and Research Committees, the maintenance of a headquarters for the editing of our publications, and the grant of facilities for work to visiting anthropologists, and even occasional hospitality to other scientific societies. For these varied services the new premises, though more convenient than the old, are still not over-large.

The basement houses the major portion of the Library and stocks of publications; the ground floor is occupied by the Reading Room—a very comfortable place, of which it is hoped that Fellows will make full use—and the Secretarial Offices; the first floor comprises the Meeting Room and Council Room, which can be thrown together as occasion requires; and the upper floors have been allotted to other learned Societies, and to the caretaker's flat. In addition, a special sanctum has been provided for the work of the editor of MAN. Like the Reading Room, the Meeting Room, with its long windows, parquet floor, grey wall-tone and charming eighteenth century ceiling, is most agreeable; and its comfortable chairs ensure physical relaxation during the intellectual exercises of lectures and discussions. The Library, a legitimate object of the Institute's pride, has been re-housed to great advantage, and our best thanks are due to Mr. Gaskin, the Honorary Advisory Librarian, for the particular care that he has bestowed upon it.

It is hoped that on our first Anniversary Meeting in the new premises, on June 28th, Fellows will take the opportunity of inspecting our new home.

THE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN ITS NEW HOME, 21, Bedford Square, W.C.1. By L. J. P. Gaskin, Horniman Museum, Hon. Advisory Librarian to the Royal Anthropological Institute.

83 The Library is perhaps the most valuable possession of the Institute; it contains some 10,000 books, 7,000 volumes of periodicals, and about 3,000 pamphlets, together with a collection of MSS., maps, photographs and lantern slides. It is continually supplemented by the newest publications, listed monthly on the back page of *MAN*, and receives by exchange with the *Journal* or *MAN*, a series of anthropological periodical publications from all over the world.

The disposition of the library in the new premises occupied the attention of the officers towards the close of 1937, and it was then decided to use the large ground-floor front room as a reading-room and reference library, and to house the main collections in the basement, which is fortunately very dry, and contains the water-heating system.

The reading-room on the ground floor (Pl. F. 2) is large, light and lofty, and furnished with handsome mahogany wall book-stacks, now filled with a selection of reference books, including a file of the Institute's *Journal*. Two small tables by the windows, and a large central table provide the necessary reading accommodation for some 10 or 12 persons. A book-lift communicates with the basement, and as the card-catalogue of the library is housed in this room, readers can make sure of securing the books they wish to consult with the minimum amount of trouble to themselves. The walls are hung with pictures, pride of place being given to Bock's sketches of the extinct Tasmanians which are hung over the fire-place. Space, too, has been found here for the two folio-cases which contain some of the Library's rare books.

The basement is divided into two rooms. The front room contains the books now arranged on steel stacks of uniform size [7 feet 2 inches],

and fitted with adjustable shelving. These stacks were obtained from the surplus stock of the British Museum through the good offices of our President, Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, and the Institute is indebted to him for securing such excellent library fittings at so low a cost. The cases containing the pamphlets, excerpts, and separata, have been placed on top of the book-stacks in this room, and should be within easy reach for consultation. This advantage of accessibility applies, of course, to the whole library, and it is now possible to see and examine all the books on the stacks without the use of steps. The inner room contains the periodicals, also housed on steel stacks, though here all wall space has been fitted with wooden shelving brought round from the old premises. A room upstairs has also been devoted to periodicals, in the main, files which are not very frequently consulted. Great care has been taken to make adequate provision for artificial lighting in the basement, and every available recess has been used to provide shelving for the out-size books of which the library has a large number. Finally ample space has been left on

the shelves themselves for future expansion, the needs of the library in this direction being secured for a number of years to come.

Moving the Library.—Before moving the library from Upper Bedford Place, it was thought best to take an inventory of the books, and as soon as this task was completed, the actual work of conveying the books to the new premises began. In order not to interrupt the service to readers, and to enable the staff to deal with them on arrival, the books were taken to Bedford Square in small loads, the entire library being removed in this way in some fourteen days. This scheme worked very smoothly and well, and the library



FIG. 3. THE NEW PREMISES, FROM BEDFORD SQUARE. (No. 21 is on the left.) Photograph by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz.

was fitted into its new home in approximately the same order of shelving that it occupied at the old premises. Despite some inconsistencies in book-classification, this was very necessary, as, owing to lack of staff, it was imperative that the books could be easily and quickly found, and the only way in which this could be satisfactorily accomplished was to preserve the original order.

The Institute is much indebted to the Honorary Officers, especially the President and Treasurer, for the efficiency and care with which the move was arranged and carried out, and in this con-

nexion the invaluable services rendered by Miss Martindell, Asst. Secretary, and the indefatigable labours of Mr. E. E. Smart, our temporary Librarian, should certainly be mentioned.

In its new home the library offers considerably enhanced facilities for reading and research. The attractive reading-room should provide suitable accommodation for the research worker and student, and the arrangement of the books on the book-stacks in the basement should give the Fellows a better idea than has heretofore been possible, of the extensive literary resources at their command.

MUSEUMS, HUMAN BIOLOGY AND DIAGRAMS. *By G. M. Morant, D.Sc.*

84 The duties of a museum curator are of a specialized kind. He is concerned with the preservation of specimens and their exhibition in a form which will both attract and impart information, except in the case of material which is shown merely on account of its artistic qualities. The choice of exhibits which will satisfy these conditions most effectively is doubtless a matter which depends on experience and consideration of factors which might easily be overlooked by the layman. It may appear presumptuous for such a one to offer suggestions with regard to ways in which the scope of museums might be widened, but research workers should at least be allowed to point out aspects of their current work which appear to them to be capable of museum treatment, and which receive none at present. This article offers comments of such a kind, restricted to recent developments of scientific inquiries relating directly or indirectly to the physical constitution of man.

At the beginning of the present century new methods which had previously been suggested and applied to some extent began to be used widely in the investigation of biological problems in general. The tardy appreciation of the importance of Mendel's experiments gave an immense impetus to research in heredity; Karl Pearson's extension of Galton's tentative proposals established a new theory of statistics especially adapted for application to biological problems; and the need for using experimental methods in biology began to be widely acknowledged. These three movements developed rapidly and became inter-related in the following decades, and it is obvious now that they have all justified themselves and become established. Nearly all

modern research work in biology and related sciences employs one or more of the methods referred to. The first two, in particular, led to the first systematic investigation of a number of problems relating to the physical characters of human beings.

The research worker in these fields may ask to what extent the modern methods and results of that branch of knowledge which may be somewhat vaguely called human biology are illustrated in the anthropological or other departments of our museums. He can only conclude, either that they are entirely neglected, or that they receive very inadequate treatment there. He may ask himself why this should be so, and the obvious explanation is that the specimens found in museums are not capable of serving the purpose considered. Rearrangement of them could only do this to a very limited extent, and a new type of exhibit would clearly be needed to meet the case. It seems to be impossible to give visual expression to the generalizations reached by the research referred to, unless diagrams are used freely. Consideration of particular topics makes this clear.

A great deal of new knowledge has been acquired recently regarding growth and age-changes in man. The primary material illustrating this must consist of growth curves for different characters. The significance of these can be readily appreciated, and no learning or great intelligence is required to gain some general ideas from the curves, such as the facts that both absolute and relative growth are greatest in early infancy, that different parts of the body grow at different rates, that girls tend to be taller than boys at certain ages, and that the

maximum stature of an individual is attained shortly after he reaches his majority, while his weight is likely to go on increasing for another thirty years. Comparisons may be made with the 'growth' curves available for such characters as blood-pressure, sensory acuities, muscular strength and reaction times. The graphical treatment of morphological characters could be linked up, of course, with skeletons illustrating age-changes. Other diagrams might illustrate differences found between the averages for different social classes of the same community, and secular changes in the averages for particular populations. A chart showing the relative durations of the period before maturity is reached, in the case of man and other mammals, would also be relevant. It may be suggested, too, in the same connexion, that age-series of X-ray films—such as those obtained by research workers in investigating growth problems—should prove attractive exhibits of the press-the-button variety. Interpretation of radiographic material is often difficult, of course, but films showing successive stages in the growth of the wrist bones, in the eruption of the teeth and in epiphyseal union, for example, can be readily appreciated if simple explanatory remarks are given.

The need for diagrams is felt equally in the case of exhibits intended to illustrate the elements of the laws of heredity in man. Whether the characters considered obey simple Mendelian laws, or whether others (such as stature) which demand statistical treatment in order to reveal hereditary tendencies are dealt with, the advantage of diagrammatic illustration is apparent. Pedigree charts and correlation tables must be the preliminary exhibits here, and 'specimens' can only play a subsidiary rôle. Is there any public museum in Great Britain in which a pedigree illustrating the inheritance of some desirable trait—such as musical ability in the Bach family—or of some degenerate condition can be found?

At the present time there is a manifest awakening of public interest in population problems. In what museum can anyone interested find a simple presentation of the facts of the situation—one which would convey general ideas relating to such questions as the growth of the population of England since 1800 and secular changes in its distribution, in the expectation of life, in the

size of the family and in the proportion of the sexes at different ages? The anthropologist is concerned with the total population of the world, and he might well aim at the presentation, in a simple form, of facts relating to the sizes and geographical distribution of the main varieties of man, and of the populations which have resulted from their inter-mingling since the dispersion of people of European origin. All these topics can only be treated effectively by using diagrams and maps, and without such aids there can be little hope of making any treatment of them of popular interest.

The main concern of the physical anthropologist is the unravelling of the course of human evolution by determining the relationships between groups of people distinguished by their physical characters. The display of series of skulls, say, with labels calling attention to the principal characters used for the purpose, will convey no idea of the ways in which data for these characters are treated. In order to do this it should at least be considered necessary to show graphical representations of the intra- and inter-racial distributions of selected characters, so that their forms and relative variabilities may be appreciated. The extremes of variation can be effectively illustrated by specimens, but the existence of correlation between certain pairs of characters necessitates the use of simple diagrams. In making comparisons between palæolithic, modern human, and non-human crania one of the methods most widely used by anthropologists depends on the superposition of contours, and many essential differences can be best illustrated by such figures.

The need for the same kind of treatment is felt at once when it is a question of employing ocular rather than verbal means to make the methods and results of recent research work in other branches of human biology readily intelligible to anyone unacquainted with them. How else is it possible, with such limitations, to convey any conception of investigations dealing with the relative influences of nature and nurture, for example, or the relations between physical and mental characters in man? Diagrams must be used in such cases, because group data are concerned, and it is often impossible to illustrate by individual specimens generalizations which apply to groups.

The curator may remark that his business is to

display specimens and not to attempt to impart information which can only be conveyed by other means. The objects are the things for him, and it has been remarked that his museum should not be a collection of labels illustrated by specimens. But if it is possible to tell people straight-forward facts about themselves, and about the community in which they live and the species to which they belong, solely by using diagrams—as it would appear to be—then may not these diagrams be considered valuable specimens? The labels explaining them should be concise, of course, and special care would be required to ensure that exhibits of this kind are artistic and attractive.

In practice specimens and diagrams could often be used in conjunction. It is clear that

the range of subject-matter treated must remain stringently limited if diagrammatic material is considered unsuitable for display in museums, and while it is excluded there can be little hope that these institutions will provide any effective aid in passing on to the public the discoveries which have been, and are still being, made in the sphere of human biology. There are many indications of a wide-spread desire to gain acquaintance with the general conclusions reached in this field. The merit of museum exhibitions must be largely judged by the amount of public interest taken in them, and the suggestion made is that it would be well worth while experimenting on the lines indicated above in order to ascertain whether the scope of museum exhibits could be profitably extended in that direction.

SOCIAL SYMBIOSIS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION. *By S. F. Nadel. Illustrated.*

85 It is a legitimate step in the development of every scientific system to borrow for its terminology concepts and terms from a related science. In the following, the attempt is made to adopt a well-established biological concept into the vocabulary of Social Anthropology. The justification lies, above all, in the fact that the new term is to define a new (i.e., not yet formulated) and specific category of social phenomena—of social organization, to be exact. But our approach itself can be called, by a metaphor, 'biological' in so far as it views a social development under the aspect of quasi-organic life and of its adaptation to external conditions.¹ The analogy with biology is incidental. But it marks a certain methodological difference: the viewpoint which we propose to adopt is characteristic, in social anthropology, rather of theories on social origins and of hypothetical arguments on initial social developments than of concrete social investigations. In the following, however, 'development' shall not be understood in this abstract, hypothetical sense; it relates to concrete anthropological material and observable social processes, namely to the re-orientation of a social system under certain conditions of external change and pressure—a social situation which, I believe, lends itself fruitfully to what we called, metaphorically, the 'biological' approach.

¹ Life, in the language of the biologist, is 'definable' as the continuous adjustment of internal relations to 'external relations' (Herbert Spencer: *First Principles*, 6th ed., p. 70).

The anthropological facts which I shall examine here concern a native community in Northern Nigeria, the Nupe town Kutigi, a place of approximately 3,000 souls, situated in the western part of Bida Emirate. The development itself to which I referred is, naturally, not a matter of to-day or yesterday. Part of it is past history and leads back to events which happened 150 or 200 years ago. The sources for the reconstructive part of my study were historical recollections of the people concerned, checked and tested as far as it was possible, and to a certain extent written historical records. But the gradual process of re-adjustment which the historical development involved has come to an end only during the last few years, and its final results shape the community of to-day. The population of Kutigi embraces four different tribal sections, originally distinct, separate cultural groups, which have migrated into their present domicile in different periods. The way in which these groups reacted and adjusted themselves to each other and eventually evolved a *modus vivendi*, a system of common life, represents this phenomenon of what I propose to call 'social symbiosis.' In the historical order of their arrival these four sections are:—

(i) The *kintsozhi*, as they style themselves, the 'Owners of the Country.' They are of pure Nupe origin, have 'always been there' and know of no other home or origin. This group had originally supplied the village chief, the *zhitsú*, 'town-king,' and the title is still taken by the head of the

group although it has no longer political significance. They can trace their chief's genealogies back eight generations; they appear to have lived in the place already at the time of the Etsu (king) Zhiberi of Nupe, who died about 1707 and ended his days in Kutigi where he lies buried.

(ii) The *ndacezhi*, hunters. They, too, are pure, aboriginal Nupe. But they have come from another village across the hills and have found the first group already in the place. The date of their arrival can be derived from their list

economic supremacy over the other sections and were recognized as the official rulers of Kutigi and the neighbouring villages by the successor of Mázun, Etsu Majiya of Nupe.

(iv) The *Konú*, or 'Prisoners of War,' freed slaves of Yoruba origin, completely Nupe-ized to-day, who have been brought into the country by the Ful kings of Nupe with the idea of introducing into Nupe the Yoruba art of weaving and indigo dyeing.

In present-day Kutigi the numerical distribu-

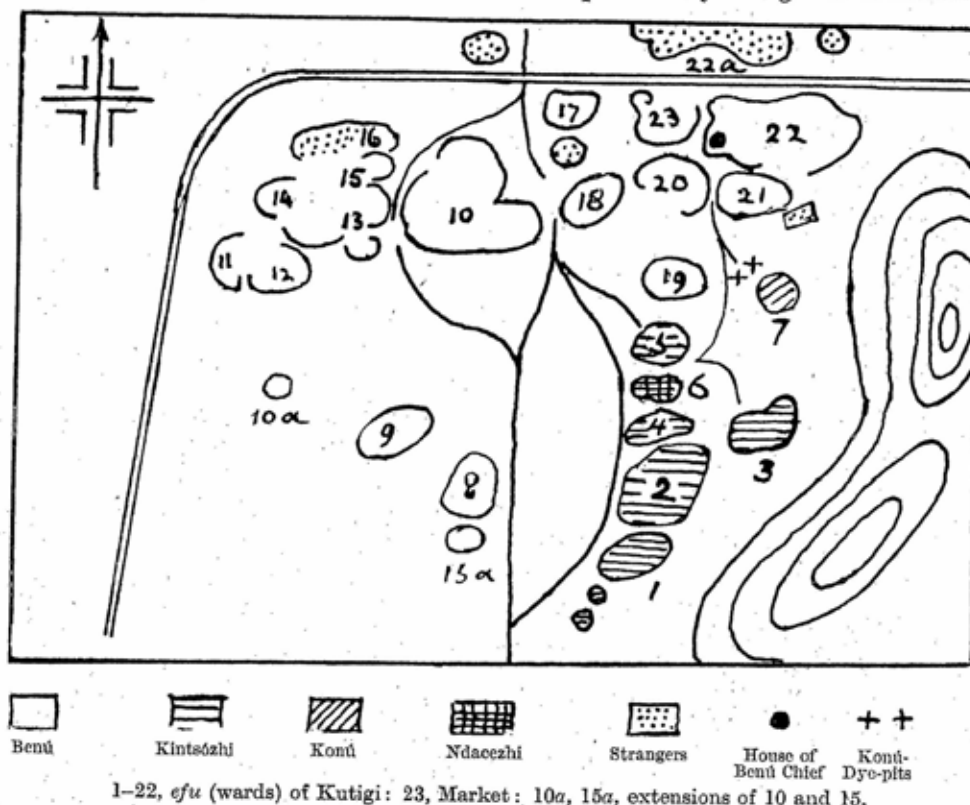


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF KUTIGI, A TYPICAL NUPE TOWN.

of ancestors—a list which is solemnly recited at their sacred ceremonies—which goes back seven generations.

(iii) The *Benú*. This is a tribal name and refers to a group of alien origin, men from Kukawa in Bornu (*Benú* is the Nupe corruption of 'Bornu') who arrived in Nupe country during the reign of Etsu Mázun, about 1800. They were Mohammedans already when they came, and they have kept written records of their history. They came as wealthy traders, with horses and cattle, and soon gained political and

tion is approximately this: *Benú*—1600, *kint-sózhí*—400, *ndacezhi*—60, *Konú*—50. (There are also other groups which do not interest us here, recent immigrants and strangers amounting to approx. 300). Of the 22 walled compounds, or wards (*efu*), of which Kutigi town, in typical Nupe fashion, consists, the *Benú* occupy 15, the *kintsózhí* 5, and the *ndacezhi* and *Konú* each 1. As can be seen on the sketch-map (Fig. 1) locality and tribal section, living place and migrational stratum, coincide. But between the separate localities and migrational strata there exists

to-day close co-operation, stretching the bonds of contact and common interest which are the fruits of a far-reaching readjustment. It must suffice here to say that this readjustment is least specific in the field of economic and political organization: economic readjustment remains entirely within the scope of normal co-operation and exchange of productive technics; the political development, on the other hand, has led to a somewhat ambiguous situation: the *Benú* have made themselves the ruler class of this fourfold community and have assumed all the official prerogatives implied in this position—with two significant exceptions: the head of the *kintsózhí* still takes (or used to take till very recently) the original chief's title *zhítsú*; and land is owned independently by the different sections. The 'bonds of contact and common interest' gain the significance of a specific and new social factor in the sphere of religion and kinship organization.

Religion.—The *Benú*, to begin with, although professing Islam, have brought to Nupe one of their old pagan cults which, with a slight veneer of Mohammedanism, has grown to a cult of paramount importance in the whole district, the *gani*. This is not the place to go into a detailed description. Two facts are important for our present problem. First, with respect to the ritual itself: the *gani* has adopted many features from the most important religious rite which the aboriginal community possessed, the *gunnu*;² it has adopted, above all, its character of an annual ceremony of initiation and adoption into manhood. Second, as regards the personnel: the congregation of the *gani* comprises the whole population of Kutigi; it is based on the typical Nupe organization of age grades and embraces the age grade groups from every section. There is a definite prerogative held by the *Benú* with respect to the secret, esoteric part of the ceremony and certain important ritual activities. But the *gani* remains a ceremony *ebo kin kpata*, performed 'for the country as a whole.' The *kintsózhí* still perform their *gunnu* though no longer as an annual cult: it is performed in the case of epidemics, in the case of drought or a failure of the crops, in short whenever misfortune befalls the community. The esoteric part of the *gunnu* and the ceremonial activities as such are again the prerogative of the section which originally

'owned' (as the Nupe would say) the cult; but the initiative for the performance may also come from the *Benú* chief, the *zónuwa* as he is called (by a Bornu title), whose permission would in any case be necessary. Approached by the elders who would point out the necessity for performing the *gunnu*, he may delegate as it were the *kintsózhí* to perform the ceremony for the common benefit. The hunters also possess a ritual of their own which is turned into an institution for the common weal; the *zhikínta*, a sacrifice associated with the ancestors, and believed to help against illness and barrenness. Everybody in the village, irrespective of the section, turns to the *ndacezhí* when he is in need of their special magic. At certain occasions the performance of the *zhikínta* becomes even compulsory: it must be performed at the appointment of a new *zónuwa* and *sheshi*, a new *Benú* chief and his second-in-command, to secure health and progeny for the rulers of the community, aliens though they are, in the fashion of aboriginal magical practice. The *Konú*, finally, still possess and perform the original cult of their Yoruba ancestors, the Yoruba *egúngun*, which the Nupe call *gúgu*. It is a masked dance of a kind unknown in Nupe proper, and some of its songs are in Yoruba, although the language is unintelligible to the *Konú* to-day. The *gúgu* is performed at the funerals of important members (male or female) of their group. But at such occasions the whole village forms the audience: for the *gúgu* has become a general feast, an exciting and (to the Nupe) intriguing and amusing masquerade which they all love to see. The *Konú* perform the *gúgu* also on one specific occasion in which the interest of the whole community converges, namely, at the feast which accompanies the appointment of a new *Benú* chief. Such is the contribution of this section, half religious, half æsthetic, to the community among which they live.

Kinship organization.—A few words first on the general kinship system of the Nupe. Its nucleus is the large family group or 'extended family,' i.e., a patrilocal family group in which the married sons and brothers stay on in the same household, *emi*, under one family head—as a rule the eldest living male member of the elder generation. With the growth of the family, members may leave the too crowded household and build themselves a house nearby; the *emi*

² See my article on the *gunnu* in forthcoming *J.R.A.I.*

'house,' grows into the *efu*, 'ward.' In the course of time relationships like this become more and more involved and inconspicuous: people know of their relationship but are unable to trace it to a concrete ancestor within the last two or three generations—and beyond this there is, as a rule, no recollection. The Nupe have no special name for the two kin groups corresponding to 'house' or *efu*, except the most general term *dengi*, 'relationship.' And its application goes even beyond this: in the Nupe village all *efu* are, as a rule, again supposed to be related, only more distantly and loosely still, i.e., they are taken to represent the final result of the development from what has been, originally, one family (the family of the founder of the village), in all its subsequent ramifications. If the *efu*-members can trace their descent only two or three generations back, village tradition would be able to enumerate eight to ten generations of chiefs, back to the first chief, who was founder of the village and ancestor of the present community in one. The whole village is thus *dengi*, 'related,' in a wider—but also slightly different sense; the extended family is, in principle, a bilateral unit, i.e., certain rights and duties fall to an individual by virtue both of his patrilineal and matrilineal descent. But as in our own family, the patrilineal link preponderates in social relevance in the Nupe family. In the wider and widest *dengi*, however, the element of patrilocal residence gains over-weight over all other factors, and descent only in the father's line is acknowledged, i.e., the group becomes a unilateral, patrilineal unit.

Evidently this distinction between bilateral family group and unilateral *dengi* can be significant only where marriage is not endogamous. Here precisely lies the essential difference between the general kinship system of the Nupe and its special development in our fourfold community. In Kutigi the *emi* (house) and *efu* (ward) correspond to the general pattern of relationship just described. But the 'sections,' even the small one-*efu* sections of *Konú* and *ndacezhi*, represent that loose, ramified, fictitious (unilateral) kin group which in other places comprises the population of the entire village. Now the Nupe village is (in theory at least) an endogamous unit: marriage links rarely stretch beyond the village boundaries and its branch or daughter settlements. The Kutigi sections, however, are not, not even in theory, endogamous: intersectional

marriages are recognized by everybody to be as good and as desirable as the *yawó dengi*, the marriage of relations, and some of my informants even maintained that the comparative frequency of the latter was due entirely to the present-day economic stress and the attraction of the low bride-price which distinguishes relation-marriage in Nupe. How far these statements correspond to the actual situation will become clear from the attached chart which summarizes marriage connexions in Kutigi for the last three generations:—

		WOMEN					
		Kin	Nda	Kon	Ben	Out-side	Total
MEN	Kintsózhi	39	8	1	17	14	89
	Ndacezhi	22	7	—	10.	4	43
	Konú	1	—	8	2	14*	25
	Benú	22	2	—	76	9	109
	Total	83	17	9	105	41	—

FIG. 2.

* i.e. marriages into *Konú* sections in other neighbouring villages.

N.B.—The figures under *Benú* and *kintsózhí* refer only to one *efu* in each section so as to keep some proportion between the compared groups.

We do not find in the chart a complete and uniform balance between endogamous and inter-sectional marriage. What we find is rather the indication of a development, or a tendency, towards inter-sectional marriage, in one word: towards 'exogamy' (ignoring here the negative, inhibition aspect of exogamy). Marriage connexions, then, complete the picture of 'sym-biotic' reciprocity and mutual adjustment; to the 'division of labour' in the sphere of religious activity appears to correspond, in the sphere of kinship, the tendency to exogamy.

But let me summarize: we found four originally independent and culturally distinct groups which were forced into a 'symbiotic' union by external historical circumstances; from independent units they developed into sections and parts of a 'commonwealth,' from distinct groups into socially differentiated sub-divisions. Each section, bound together in itself by common descent, the property of common land and the possession of a common religious cult, is at the same time

bound to the 'commonwealth' by the specific share which it assumed in the pursuit of the common interest, by the bonds of marriage relations and the spiritual dependence on the other section's magical endowment, and finally, by factors of political and economic co-operation. Membership of the section, with all its rights and obligations, goes with birth in a certain locality, and is ruled by patrilineal affiliation.

There remains the problem of terminology, in other words, the problem of placing this symbiotic sectional structure in the framework of familiar, established categories of primitive social organization. The preceding summary has established, I think, the essential correspondence between the group which we termed 'section' and the principle of clanship—more exactly, one type of clanship. Our 'section' conforms to clanship with respect to the general structural ('morpho-logical'—Lowie) principle of clanship, i.e., with respect to the system of relationship defining membership of the group. It also corresponds to clanship 'functionally' (in the sense of Lowie and Malinowski), i.e., with respect to the specific activities which the so-and-so constituted group involves: activities which express inter-dependence and reciprocity with other, similar sections, in the framework of a larger, embracing group-unit.³ One word, quasi in brackets, on Exogamy, to many the criterion of clanship. Exogamy, as far as I can see, cannot be part of the general formal structure of clanship. Rather, it is one of the possible social expressions (not the only one) of the reciprocity and interdependence which links clan with clan, section with section. In our example exogamous relations were much less fully developed than, for example, interdependence in the sphere of religion and ritual.⁴ But to return to our point: the 'section' which we

described, compared with the general concept of clanship, contains one additional, as it were, new element: the very element of symbiosis. Evidently, clanship is one possible social solution for the cultural problem of symbiosis—whether or not it is the only one I cannot say at present. Or, to turn the argument round, social symbiosis represents one possible origin of clanship. How important and widespread a one, I can again not attempt to discuss here.⁵

But then, social symbiosis itself represents only one possible social development, one possible cultural solution of a very general social problem, namely, the problem of how a social *modus vivendi*, a social equilibrium, could be achieved between diverse cultural groups which by external circumstances are forced into a common life. This last point disposes, I think, of the question to which I referred in the beginning, whether or not it was necessary to introduce the new term symbiosis. Social symbiosis defines a specific social constellation, different from mere *co-operation*—the loosest and most restricted method of balancing diverse cultural interests—and different too, from complete *fusion*—a cultural 'solution' which obliterates the identity of the component cultures or, more frequently, transforms the original cultural groups into (ruling or ruled) social classes or strata. Biology defines symbiosis as the 'association of two types of living things . . . mutually beneficial to each other' in which 'neither part can exist without the other.'⁶ Replace 'living things' by cultural group, and understand 'existence' as cultural, continued cultural, existence, and you have the characteristics of social symbiosis. The borderline between the three 'cultural solutions' may often be fluid; economic co-operation may grow into *symbiosis* (e.g., among the fishing- and farming-communities of Melanesia), and the 'idea' of symbiosis may remain visible in political fusion (e.g., in the federal state). Also, social symbiosis has its limitations: in our own example it may be but a transitory 'solution,' unfit to cope with certain general social developments (unproportionate growth of one section, the influence of

³ There is, so to speak, no sense in speaking of clan in the singular; the clan, 'unlike the family, is always part of a larger system, never a self-contained unit. The full functional reality of clanship is only achieved by the integration of the clans as correlated units into a larger tribal whole.' (B. Malinowski, in 'The New Generation,' ed. by Calvarton and Schmalhausen, 1930, p. 165.)

⁴ Actually, they are not likely to develop further, i.e., more systematically, chiefly because of the so very unequal size of the sections. The unequal 'chance' for exogamous development came out quite clearly in our chart, in the ratio between endogamous marriages and the totals which shows that the proportion of endogamous marriages decreases with the size of the section.

⁵ There may be many more such cases. Lowie states once that 'we may with great likelihood assume' that in many cases 'sibs,' viz., 'exogamous organizations' 'evolved by fusion of originally distinct bodies' (Primitive Society, p. 129).

⁶ Charles Singer: *A Short History of Biology*, p. 322.

new religious beliefs, i.e., Mohammedanism, economic changes, etc.). Limitations such as these have also determined the fate of social symbiosis as a cultural solution of related problems in our own civilization.

But our example demonstrates, I believe, unmistakeably where the difference between the three 'cultural solutions' lies. It is no accident

that the mutual adjustment and inter-dependence crystallized most fully in kinship structure and religion. For kinship organization regulates reproduction and physical continuity of the group; and religion organizes spiritual continuity and formulates, above all, the principle of necessity (though only a 'subjective,' psychological necessity) inherent in symbiotic inter-dependence.

TWO BRONZE AGE CAIRNS NEAR BRIDGEND, GLAMORGAN. *By Sir Cyril Fox, Director, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. Illustrated.*

86 The Army Council kindly gave permission to the National Museum of Wales to examine any antiquities in the area of land east of Bridgend, Glamorgan, recently purchased for development by the War Department under the 1936 Defence Scheme. Two unrecorded mounds near the village of Coity were noted by the surveyors of His Majesty's Office of Works. These have both been examined during the year, on behalf of the Museum.

Simondston Cairn is situated on a saddle on the north side of Brackla Hill. The site is 190 ft. above O.D. and is on Lias limestone. The mound was hardly perceptible on the ground; it was found to cover the scanty remains of a cairn 43 ft. in diameter, with a central cist. This cist contained two urns of enlarged food-vessel type and three associated objects. Near the first urn, which contained the burnt bones of an adult, was a flake-knife of flint chipped into an ogee outline, resembling bronze blades of Snowhill type.

Near the second urn which held the burnt bones of an adult and a child were a flint fabricator and a natural cup—part of a nodule of pyrites from the chalk. It would appear that we have here symbolic articles suited for a man, a woman, and a child respectively. The date of the primary burials should be about 1500 B.C.

One stone of the wall of the cist, that next to the man's (?) interment was a cup-marked stone, pecked and roughly shaped; it is the first found in South Wales which can be definitely dated.

Earthfast stones carefully set at an angle of 45° to resist the outward pressure of the cairn mass were spaced out on the lower side of the cairn. Such 'thrust blocks' have not, it is thought, hitherto been recorded.

Subsequently the cairn was used as a cemetery, five cremation burials being inserted on the

southern margin. With one of these was a large and highly decorated urn of overhanging-rim type, the burial being at least a generation later than that of the occupants of the primary cist. Dr. F. J. North notes that coal was present in this cremation, being the first record of its use as transported fuel in Wales.

In the neighbourhood of these burials, and associated with them, were several pits filled with stones or earth and covered with large slabs of red Triassic conglomerate. These pits presumably served a ritual purpose.

Pond Cairn, the second of the two mounds, about half-a-mile from Simondston, is on a low knoll of Lias limestone 125 ft. above O.D. (fig. 1). Its structure, and the ritual acts for which evidence was revealed by excavation were alike remarkable.

Near the centre of the mound was a (dedicatory?) pit dug into the rock, containing the scattered burnt bones of a child. Beside this, in the centre of the mound, on ground level, was an overhanging-rim urn of about 1300 B.C., containing the burnt bones of an adult. A heap of stones covered this, the principal, burial. A basin with projection, phallic in plan, and lined with charcoal, fronted the urn. Over the stone-heap a turf stack was raised, vertical-sided. Around the stack a cairn ring was constructed with an inner wall-face and outer kerb, making the diameter of the monument about 60 ft. There was no entrance to the cairn ring. When this was completed, charcoal was scattered over the floor of the circular interspace between cairn ring and turf stack, and trodden hard in some ceremonial movement of men.

Thereafter the inner wall face of the cairn ring was broken at one point, and a pit was dug and filled with vegetation, being thereafter covered with a pile of stones which linked the cairn ring with the turf stack. Grains and seeds were

found in the vegetable matter in the pit, which Professor John Percival reports as wheat (probably *Triticum vulgare*), barley, and cheat or chess, a weed of cultivation. This is believed to be the first scientific record of Bronze Age food grains in Southern Britain.

The significance of the ritual practices disclosed, requires careful consideration.

certainly to be sought in Devon, where structures of composite character, stone rings and turf, have been recorded from time to time by the Devon Archaeological Association; examples on Hameldon Down, Dartmoor and at Parracombe, Exmoor, may be cited. There is, then, reason to believe that Pond Cairn (and the secondary deposits at Simondston) represent an intrusion of the south-

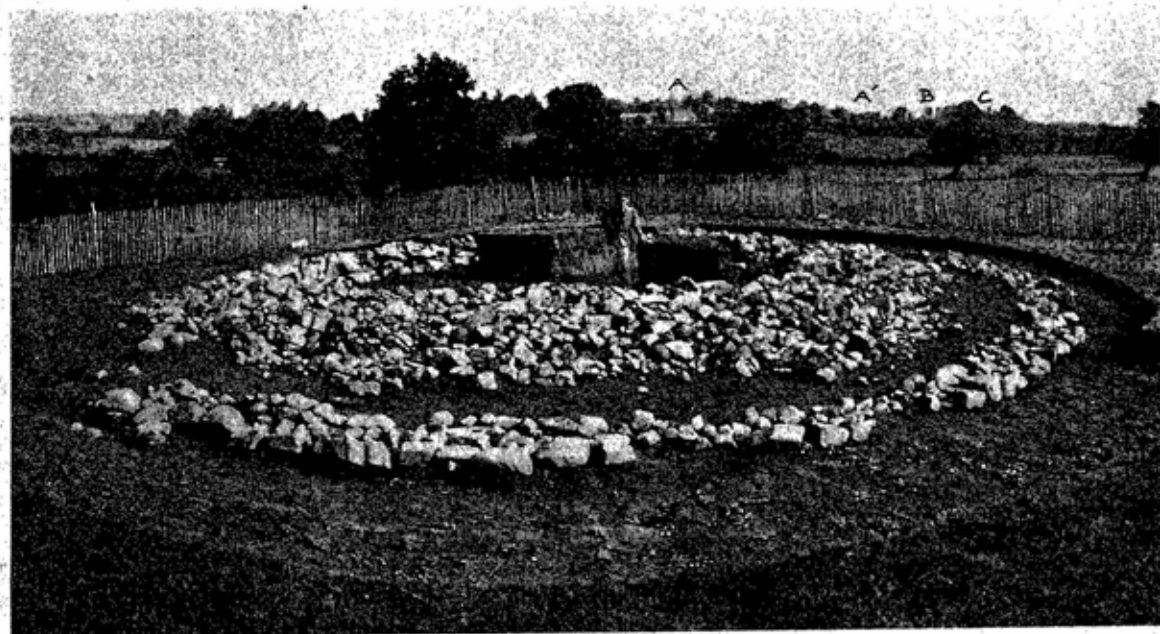


FIG. 1. POND CAIRN, COITY, GLAMORGAN, FROM THE WEST.

The figure is standing on the site of the dedicatory (?) pit, and between two unexcavated portions of the turf stack; the pit containing food grains is behind him. The inner wall of the Cairn Ring is visible to the left of the turf stack, and there is a long stretch of the outer kerb of the Ring in the foreground. The stones of the cairn adjacent to the kerb have been removed by stone robbers. Coity Castle and village are on the skyline.

Photo: National Museum of Wales. Reproduced also in 'The Times,' 1st April, 1938.

Some 1500 years after the completion of these ceremonies, the cairn was occupied by Roman-British squatters who left wheat and barley by the side of their fires, in a situation which enabled the contours of the structure at this intermediate stage of its degradation to be determined.

While Simondston Cairn represents a normal Bronze Age highland type, Pond Cairn is distinctly unusual. Its proximate origin is almost

western folk, early in the Middle Bronze Age, across the Severn Sea into the Glamorgan sea plain.

About half the cost of these excavations which will be published *in extenso* in due course, was defrayed by His Majesty's Office of Works, and much assistance was given by their surveyors. The Secretary of State for War has presented the finds to the National Museum of Wales.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

The Anthropology of Prehistoric Cyprus. An Account of Neolithic and Bronze Age Skulls including the results of an Expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean in the Winter 1937-1938. Summary of a Communication presented by

Mr. M. M. Riz and Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, 14 June, 1938.

Account of an anthropometrical expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean in the winter of 1937-8, including the measurement of skulls in Cyprus,

Athens and Crete, followed by a detailed description of prehistoric crania from Cyprus, where recent excavations have brought to light skulls of a period considerably earlier than any previously examined. These skulls date from the Neolithic period and are of special interest as showing artificial cranial deformation, a condition which had not previously been observed before the end of the Bronze Age. In addition to deformed skulls there are now available about 100 undeformed skulls belonging to various subdivisions of the Bronze Age. The authors will attempt to show the ethnological relations of the Cypriots of this period to the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean. It seems probable that here, as elsewhere, the earliest peoples belonged to the so-called Mediterranean race but that at an early period there was a series of invaders of Armenoid stock. It is interesting to note that, as in Cyprus to-day, even at an early period there were considerable local differences in the physical characters of the people, no doubt owing to the comparatively isolated communities in which the people lived, combined with a small population.

Committee on Applied Anthropology. Report of
88 *a discussion on Indirect Rule in Northern Rhodesia, 29 April, 1938.*

Sir Alan Pim, K.C.I.E., opened a discussion on problems connected with *Indirect Rule in Northern Rhodesia* by describing a number of circumstances which in that territory militate against the effective working of the system. Some of the largest native tribal units are divided by frontiers, and acknowledge a Paramount who lives across the border. Many smaller units are too small to be recognized separately for purposes of modern government. In some areas, natives who have adopted ploughing have taken up land without regard for tribal boundaries. Except in Barotseland, the traditional rights of the chiefs to labour and tribute have been abolished without compensation, and the salaries which they receive do not enable them to pay the retainers, and to keep up the hospitality, on which their prestige depends. The councillors, who have a clearly defined place in the native political system in many tribes, are not officially recognized in the constitution of native authorities, and so do not receive payment from Government. Native treasuries have recently been instituted, but their resources are very inadequate. In Barotseland, owing to the special agreements made with the British South Africa Company, the Paramount has always received considerable revenues, which are now paid into a tribal treasury; expenditure however has been concentrated on the capital, and the subject tribes derive little return from the taxes which they pay.

Sir Alan suggested four problems calling for anthropological study. (1) In what way can Indirect Rule best be made to subserve the ideals of native development set before them by modern governments? (2) How can the generally accepted body of native law be brought into line with the rapid

changes in native custom that are taking place with present-day economic developments? (3) Is there any way in which the principle of Indirect Rule can be applied to the mixed populations which are growing up in the industrial areas? (4) Could a system of land-tenure be devised, suitable to areas which might be added to native reserves, subject to provisions that the occupants must adopt efficient methods of cultivation?

Appeal for Funds.

89 All Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute will have received a copy of the appeal for funds to maintain and, if possible, increase the work of the Institute, which has been cramped for lack of money for some years past.

The appeal is for two objects, income and capital. Although it is hoped that the running expenses will be less in the new premises than in the old, since part of the house has been let off to tenants, the income is not sufficient for the Institute's work, and it is earnestly hoped that a large proportion of Fellows will voluntarily increase their subscription by at least a guinea yearly until the number of Fellows has increased and therewith the income from subscriptions.

If extra subscriptions are promised for seven years under Deed of Covenant, income tax already paid by subscribers, can be recovered on these payments, so that if the total of such subscriptions amounts for example to £200, another £70 will be received by the Institute without cost to the subscribers. This freedom from income tax on such subscription is one of the concessions that the Government gives to British scientific research, and it is hoped that many Fellows will enable the Institute to take advantage of it.

The other appeal is for a Capital Fund. The costs of removal and the purchase of the lease of the new premises have been defrayed out of reserves accumulated for those purposes. A sum of £3,500 is needed to replace those reserves and it is hoped to raise it by subscriptions and legacies. A cheque for £100 received now and invested will increase to about £140 by the date of the expiry of the present lease. If payment is made over a period of seven years or more, under Deed of Covenant, as in the case of the voluntarily increased subscriptions, income tax can be recovered on these payments also, so that £70 paid in seven instalments will benefit the Institute by about £95, at the present rate of income tax, without cost to the subscribers. These contributions will be taken into account in reducing sur-tax returns.

It is earnestly hoped that all Fellows and others interested in anthropology, will send some subscription, however small, to help the valuable scientific work that has been carried on for so many years by the Institute. A copy of the Appeal, Banker's Order, and Deed of Covenant may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, to whom all correspondence should be addressed, at 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

The Hilton-Simpson Bequest.

90 The Institute is greatly indebted to Mrs. Hilton-Simpson, widow of Captain Melville Hilton-Simpson, for the gift of some 60 books on the anthropology, archaeology, and ethnography of French North Africa, presented to the Library in the name of her husband. The value of the bequest is much enhanced by the fact that these books represent the working library of a well-known field ethnologist who had personally visited and worked amongst the peoples so exhaustively described in these volumes. Of particular interest are—Professor Stéphane Gsell's *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, published in six volumes in 1921-1927, Hanoteau and Letourneux' authoritative

La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles, Émile Masqueray's *Formation des Cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie*, Mercier's exhaustive *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Mouliéras' *Le Maroc Inconnu*, Duveyrier's classic *Les Touareg du Nord*, and Edmond Doutté's well-known and much quoted *En Tribu* and *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*.

A special book-label, inscribed with the name of Captain Hilton-Simpson has been printed and inserted in each volume, and all the books have been catalogued and incorporated in the library, where they will form a welcome addition to the North African section, and a permanent record of the name and work of the generous donor. L. J. P. G.

OBITUARY.

Melville William Hilton-Simpson: 1881 — 17th March, 1938.

91 The death of Mr. Melville Hilton-Simpson will be deplored, not only by professional anthropologists, but also by those many undergraduates who had been accustomed to seek his advice on ethnology, geography, and the art of steering an eight-oared boat.

Mr. Hilton-Simpson, who came up to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1900, from Wellington, began to travel in the Sahara in 1903. On his next journey to Africa he visited the Kasai region of the Congo with Mr. Emil Torday. The expedition suffered many hardships, which put a great strain on Hilton-Simpson's never very strong physique. They brought back important collections among which the wood carvings of the Bushongo now in the British Museum deserve especial mention. The results will be found in the official publication, and in a more popular book *The Land and Peoples of the Kasai*.

In 1912 Hilton-Simpson who in the previous year had married Helen Dorothy, daughter of Mr. Malcolm Douglas Mackenzie (late Bombay Civil Service) returned with his wife to North Africa. His studies of the Shawia Arabs were only interrupted by the war-years, during which he served in the Royal Army Service Corps, and enlivened unpleasant times on the Western Front by explaining how much worse it was on the Congo.

The Hilton-Simpsons formed the ideal anthropological expedition. She played the native game of hockey with the ladies with a skill which they

could not equal, and learned all about them, while he studied the arts and crafts of the men. The Pitt-Rivers Museum owes much to his skill in collecting. Special mention must be made of the surgical instruments and of the methods of irrigation associated with the clepsydra. In co-operation with Mr. J. A. Haeseler, films were taken illustrating the life and industries of the people. His researches were recorded in *Among the Hill-Folk of Algeria*, *Arab Medicine and Surgery*, and papers in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in these columns, and elsewhere.

He received the Rivers Medal in 1932, and was a B.Sc. of Oxford. In addition to his formal work, Hilton-Simpson, both during the time he was living in Oxford and later during regular visits, contributed considerably especially in informal gatherings to the success of the School of Anthropology in Oxford, particularly in its early days, although he never held a formal teaching-post; the present writer will always remember with gratitude, learning so much about the actual details of the life of African peoples, which would have been difficult if not impossible to have obtained from books or formal lectures.

Hilton-Simpson was in addition to his other accomplishments an excellent shot, and a variety of 'Kaffir Ox' is named after him. He was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, corresponding member of the Royal Belgian Geographical Society and F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., as well as a Fellow of our Institute. L. H. D. B.

REVIEWS.

Anthropology: An Introduction to Primitive Culture. By Alexander Goldenweiser. London: Harrap, 1937. 550 pp., 32 plates, 80 line illustrations. Price 18s. net.

92 Professor Goldenweiser warns us that this book is not merely a revised edition of his classic *Early Civilization*, and the reviewer can testify that this is indeed a new work, though it embodies material and arguments from the previous book. It will unquestionably become as

useful a students' textbook as its predecessor. If it tends to be prolix, it never becomes dull. Professor Goldenweiser, indeed, marshals and manœuvres a tremendous range of material with the skill of a born expositor. Throughout he remains eclectic and judicious, and when he expresses criticism, he does so without acrimony. He succeeds, therefore, in maintaining a reasonable balance between the various points of view current in contemporary anthropology. If in his dis-

cussion of some of the more abstract problems of anthropology, such as that of the relation of the individual to society in ritual or economics, or the nature of invention or the *mana* concept, he slips into vague aphorisms and perhaps disputable generalizations, this is more the fault of the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge than of his standpoint and method.

The book covers most of the topics which would be dealt with in an introductory course on anthropology. There is an excellent introductory section on Physical Anthropology and Race, followed by sections on Economic life, Art, Magic and Religion, Society and Politics, and a final general section dealing with such questions as the relation of culture to environment, diffusion and evolution. The descriptive material is aptly chosen, and many illuminating examples from our own culture help the student to realize the essential 'psychic unity'—as the writer calls it—of mankind. Inevitably, in a book of this kind, some chapters give the impression of being rather loosely related to the rest, and others of being over-casual (e.g., Ch. 26, "The 'White Man's Burden'"). In the reviewer's opinion the outstanding chapters are those dealing with the problem of diffusion. A more lucid and judicious discussion of this vexed issue could hardly be found. M. F.

The Tongues of Men. By J. R. Firth. London, 1937. 7½ × 5½. 160 pp. Price 2s. 6d. net.

93 The origin of speech remains a mystery. It is not even as if there were a hierarchy of languages so that we could glimpse successive stages. Both the oldest recorded language and the language of the most primitive tribe to-day are in an advanced stage: just as finely wrought instruments of expression as our own. If a tribal language cannot express what we express, it is because its vocabulary has not had to keep pace with our civilization, not because its form and structure are less adequate. It is a mistake based on mere unfamiliarity to imagine that a rational and abstract language, because it happens to be our own, is in any way superior to a mystical and concrete one. The colonial administrator, wrestling unaided with the language of some obscure race, may find it hard to believe this, but it is the opinion of men who have devoted a lifetime to the subject.

Such is part of Mr. Firth's theme, but only a part. He points out, as others have pointed out, that speech derives from something deeper than the intellect, and the one purpose for which it usually is not used is to express our thoughts. He traces the history of language studies from the time of Plato and Panini to the day when the discovery of Sanskrit set the philologists on the throne they are only now abdicating. He shows the part the Catholic and subsequently the Protestant Churches have played in field studies. And he gives a sympathetic analysis of the artificial languages which their inventors, from Cave'Beck in 1657 onwards, have intended for universal use, adding however

World languages are made not by amateur grammarians but by world powers. The Roman Empire made Latin, the British Empire English. The Church of Rome maintained and extended Latin and the power of the Koran or the English Bible to help men to a common feeling and to do great things cannot be overestimated. Statesmen, soldiers, sailors, and missionaries, men of action, men of strong feelings have made world languages. They are built on blood, money, sinews and suffering in the pursuit of power.

G. E. HARVEY.

A Herd of Red Deer: A Study in Animal Behaviour.

By F. Fraser Darling, Ph.D., F.R.S.E. London: Milford, 1937. x + 216 pp., pls. 8, 10 figs. in text, 3 maps and 4 plans. Price 15s.

This extremely interesting account makes an anthropologist wonder how far the sociality of red deer and that of man are governed by the same principles. Perhaps the question can best be answered by quoting a few short passages from this book. The author points out that "the lie of the land affects the social morphology of the herd," and that "free-moving animals need space in which to feed and breed, to rest and play. Conservatism of habit tends to restrict movement to a particular area. True nomads are rare in nature." "Some species of mammals, like some human types, can live in seething masses whilst food is available," but "overcrowding results in anti-social behaviour." "The family is the basis of sociality in red deer," and "their social system is matriarchal." This last statement at first sight seems at variance with the fact that in the rutting season the stag keeps and herds a harem; but the author explains it.

The advantages of social habits are enumerated. But these are not the reasons for sociality. The explanation is not teleological. "Sociality has its roots in the physiological and psychological processes of reproduction." "Sociality may and does develop beyond the limits of reproductive expediency, but its origins are in reproduction, and we may look in the future to research on the hormonal processes concerned to throw much light on the development and interpretation of social behaviour."

One interesting observation is that "the stag companies frequently split into their approximate age-classes when grazing or resting, and this presumably is a social tendency." This organization is also characteristic of some African tribes, but in drawing an analogy between deer and man one must remember one very important difference between them, the seasonal activity of the reproductive organs of the former. For a part of the year a stag is "physiologically castrate."

The author rejects the behaviourist, mechanistic, and vitalist theories, but subscribes to 'organismal biology,' following Ritter and Russell. This leads him to make the remarkable statement that "we can take it as axiomatic that an animal strives to keep itself within an ecological norm"! CANNING SUFFERN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Missing Links between Horned Cairns in Sardinia and Ulster.

95 Sir,—Archaeologists have often noticed the general similarity between the horned cairns of Ulster and south-western Scotland and the Giants' Graves of Sardinia, which seems to illustrate the culture-drift up the Atlantic coast in the neolithic period, indicated also by other megalithic types, by

styles of ornament, by the diffusion of certain forms of artefact, and so on. The studies carried out in the last few years on Ulster megaliths have however emphasized certain puzzling differences, and it is only recently that missing links have been discovered. One of these is the horned cairn of Corraclona (Co. Leitrim), of which a description has just been published by Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry (J.R. Soc. Antiq. Ireland,

VII, vii (1937), p. 302).¹ The second is Clontygora (Co. Armagh), excavated in 1937 under the auspices of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society and to be published in due course in their Proceedings; the third is Balix (Co. Tyrone), on which no detailed report is available.

The Sardinian graves (for available plans *cp.* MacKenzie, *Memnon*, ii (1909); *id.*, *Ausonia* (1908), p. 18) have a semicircular forecourt bounded by orthostats or walling. From the centre of the arc there runs backwards a long gallery, roofed and with built walls, with a pair of jambs at the front end, before which stands an enormous portal-stone. The gallery was covered with earth, held in place by a kerb whose line runs parallel to that of the horns and side-walls.

Those Ulster horned cairns, believed to be earliest in date, have a forecourt set slightly asymmetrically to the line of the chambers, and often forming more than a semicircle. At Brownod and Ballyalton a paving of stones completed the circle of the forecourt; a similar feature seems to exist at Sena. The forecourt was bounded, at least in part, by orthostatic slabs, though at Cullamore dry walling is well preserved between the uprights, and traces of it to fill chinks have been found elsewhere.

The Ulster horned cairn was normally approached through a door formed by a pair of orthostatic jambs and a lintel. Often, when the monument was abandoned, this door was blocked by a bank of earth. At Corraclouna has been found a massive portal-stone, resting as it were on stilts, so as to allow a symbolic entrance at the base. This is exactly paralleled at San Gavino, while at Imbertighe is a similar portal-stone, only shaped and with a depression carved in the centre. The portal-stone on stilts differs essentially from the porthole-entrance, of which examples are known in Brittany and Ireland; this is associated with the gallery-grave without forecourt.

The Ulster monuments are normally divided into three chambers by massive jambs often separated by sill-stones. This feature seems typically Irish; in Caithness the segmentation is effected by thin slabs projecting from the gallery-walls, without sill-stones. Corraclouna, which has the most marked affinities with Sardinia of any monument yet discovered in Ireland, has apparently a single short chamber; so has Balix, but its side-walls converge instead of running parallel. We would suggest that the Irish sills and jambs are derived from timber-construction, in which this type would more readily occur.

The side-walls of the Sardinian cairns are normally built up, in Ulster they are orthostatic and support a single row of corbels below the roof. So far, however, as reliable sections of the Sardinian cairns are available, it appears that they are often partly orthostatic, with several rows of superposed corbels projecting only slightly inwards (*cp.*, Whatmough, *Foundations of Roman Italy*, p. 372). Coursed and orthostatic masonry are not mutually exclusive, and in both Sardinia and Ireland there are traces of both forms.

Finally, most of the Ulster monuments whose kerbs have been traceable have had formless cairns, large in proportion to the area of the chambers. At Clontygora however it was found that the line of the kerb ran roughly parallel to that of the forecourt and chambers. The normal formless type of cairn was perhaps taken over from the English long barrows.

These missing links demonstrate the affinity between

¹ This cairn is not in Ulster but a mile or two over the border in Connaught. For convenience horned cairns are referred to as in Ulster, where lie the great majority.

the Sardinian and the Ulster monuments. Corraclouna is at present isolated. It has no parallels to the east, where is the home-land of Ulster horned cairns, and its builders may have strayed in from the west. Perhaps when Connaught is more carefully explored, Corraclouna will be found to belong to a separate group centering near Sligo or farther south. Clontygora lies close to Carlingford Lough, which has been postulated as one of the principal entries of the builders of horned cairns; it may thus be among their earliest constructions. Balix is at present unaccounted for. It is not far from the mouth of the Foyle, and it lies on the edge of an area which has yielded many strange types of megalithic monument, built apparently by intruders, who had little appreciation of megalithic architecture. At present however research is not sufficiently advanced to dogmatise on the prehistory of Co. Derry.

P. RICHARDSON: O. DAVIES.

Glass in Modern Egypt.

96 SIR.—Native-made glass in Egypt is, according to the latest information, a 'bygone,' but in the early part of this century one or two small kilns were still working in miserable huts outside what remains of the old walls on the northern side of Cairo. Only broken fragments of bottles, etc., were used, melted together in a circular furnace lying low on the ground. This furnace had a number of openings round it at each of which an operator worked in the ancient way, squatting on the floor. Only small bottles were then made, such as tourists used to call 'tear bottles' but in fact used for cheap perfumes; the metal was very inferior and full of air-bubbles; it was usually of a pale blue or a greenish yellow tint. Till the beginning of the century, glass bangles of the kind commonly worn by peasant women were also made, but Bohemia had become commercially aware of the custom and driven off the native product with a much superior one.

When I was at Kenh one summer about forty years ago I found a pedlar from Arabia selling glass bangles which were scarcely distinguishable from those of ancient Egypt. They were made of thick opaque canes of different colours laid unevenly on one another, with 'eyes' scattered on the surface and sometimes with an edging composed of two thin canes of different colours twisted to form a fairly even two-coloured spiral. Many examples were to be found in the Cairo bazaars, often sold as antique. The pedlar told me that he came from Sana'a (Yemen) where the glass was worked by Jews; he came to Kenh by way of Koseir and the Red Sea, a route which was formerly much used and by which were brought the old Persian rugs that once were sold in the Kenh market. But the railway reached the place soon after and that trade has long died out: the pedlar was the last, or nearly so, of his tribe, for I never heard of another though I used to make enquiries.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Superstition and Fact. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 64.)

97 SIR.—Because nothing of medicinal value is to be found in the well of Llancafren, whose waters are reputed to be a cure for erysipelas, Lord Raglan protests (MAN 1938, 64) that this belief can have no foundation in fact.

That wise old physician, Sir Samuel Wilks, used to impress upon me that "Science did not begin till mankind began to learn that *post hoc* is not necessarily *propter hoc*"; and would add, with a smile, "Many people haven't learnt that yet."

The waters of Lourdes have I believe no medicinal

value. That persons afflicted with certain types of disease have recovered completely or partially, after bathing in them, seems fairly certain. From this, it has been argued that they cure all diseases. We hear of a few successes, and not of the very many failures. And the successes may not all be 'propters' but only 'post-hockers.'

One *post hoc* carries conviction, even among educated people to-day: e.g., an old friend of mine was certain that peacocks' feathers were unlucky, and would not have one in the house. I chaffed her about it. Whereupon she 'proved' it thus. Gus Harris, the then successful producer of melodrama at Drury Lane told her that after a long run of luck, he put on a new piece as good as any previous one. But it was a 'frost.' He was losing so heavily, that unless his luck turned he must close in a week. He racked his brains to think of the cause of failure and suddenly remembered that a friend in India had sent him a peacock-feather screen, which adorned his drawing-room. He dashed home; threw the screen on the fire, and that very night the piece began to pay! "There," said my friend, "that proves it. What more proof do you want?"

A good 'post-hocker.'

Primitive man, so soon as he began to sit up and take notice, found himself surrounded by unknown enemy forces—diseases, droughts, thunder and lightning, etc., etc. Most alarming was the fact that many of these enemies were invisible. In his efforts to identify and thwart them his guesses were, it appears, mostly 'post-hocs.' Often he was absurdly mistaken. Sometimes the guess was a shrewd one and he hit on a cure or a safeguard. Springs of real medicinal value were found at a very early date. That their discoverers thought that some unseen Spirit effected the cure, did not affect the value of the spring.

Miraculous healing power was once ascribed to me, and caused me much trouble and pain. During the Albanian revolution in 1911 a man, unconscious and apparently moribund, was dragged into the makeshift hospital and dumped on a bed. He was shot through the head. The bullet entered by the side of the nose, just missing the eye, and came out low on the occipital bone, raking the base of the brain. The doctor, from Vienna, took his temperature, said to me "Meningitis: 'He'll be dead in an hour or two,'" and told the wife she might stay by the bed.

Two days later the doctor called me in to see the man, who was still alive, unconscious, but looking better, and with better temperature. The doctor expressed his amazement. We talked in German. After this the man made an astonishing recovery. He remembered about the fight, dragged one leg a bit, and had a weak arm, but was otherwise quite well. And everyone believed that I had cured him. His wife vowed—possibly correctly—that from the moment I had spoken words in an unknown tongue over him, he began to get well. *Post hoc!* To tell of the chronic incurables, congenital deformities, and other unhappy beings I was implored to cure would take too much space. Denials of my power were useless. I was adjured to 'have mercy and try,' or they said 'You are too modest. We know you can do it.' I was as incapable of effecting a cure as is Lord Raglan's spring water. But there was 'a fact behind it.'

M. E. DURHAM.

Fact and Superstition. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 64.)

98 SIR,—Lord Raglan must be trailing his coat. If, in the last line of his letter (MAN, 1938, 64) he had written 'often' instead of 'always,' his attribution of belief would have had some chance of being accurate; but there would have been nothing

to tread on. That would have been contrary to what I imagine is Lord Raglan's considered policy of provocatively overstating his case. He has, of course, no ground for supposing that I (or anyone else?) believe that popular superstitions always have some foundation in fact. Would he himself subscribe to a statement that they never did? Or that incomplete or faulty observation of facts never gave rise to superstition? If he would not, our difference is one of degree, and possibly (in some measure) of terminology.

J. H. HUTTON.

Hengist, Horsa, and Lord Raglan. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 57, 80).

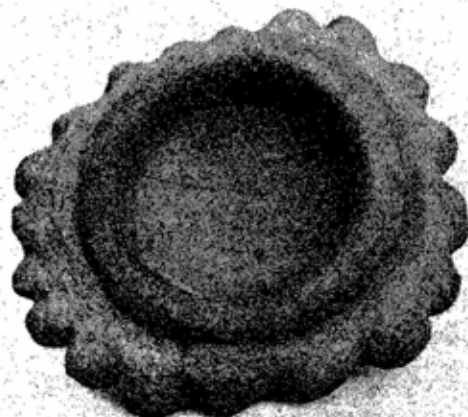
99 SIR,—Lord Raglan criticizes my handling of the evidence for Hengist and Horsa on the ground that "we know of Hengist only in connexion with 'Horsa.'" Lord Raglan is of course wrong: it is precisely because we know of Hengist apart from Horsa (in the *Genealogies*, *Beowulf*, etc.), that we are bound to treat the one with greater respect than the other.

Fortunately for Lord Raglan historians have always rejected his principle. "If the truth of half a sentence can be questioned, why should the other half be 'sacrosanct'?" otherwise I should only have to write, "Hengist and Lord Raglan are alike historical figures," and Lord Raglan who does not believe in Hengist, would be unable to accept my assurance that he exists himself.

J. N. L. MYRES.

Another Stone Mortar from New Guinea.

100 SIR,—The stone mortar, Fig. 1, was found in Edie Creek, Ramu River, New Guinea, and recently acquired by the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum. It is somewhat similar to one recorded in MAN, 201, 1935, but is smaller (maximum diameter



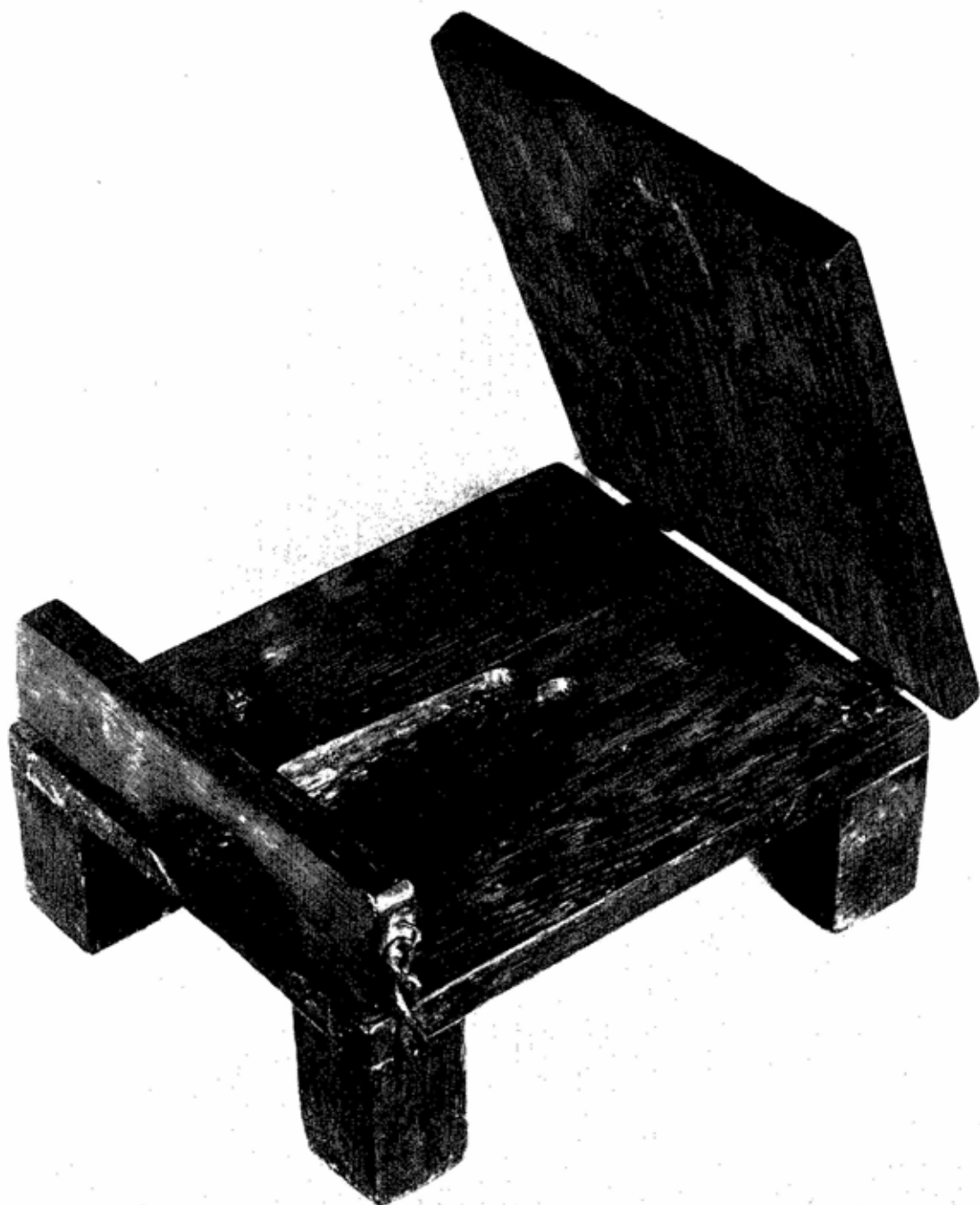
CRANMORE MUSEUM.

FIG. 1. STONE MORTAR FROM EDIE CREEK, RAMU RIVER, NEW GUINEA.

21.5 cm., internal diameter 10.7, height 10.1 cm., weight 7 lbs. (3,175 grams)); the bosses are smaller and more regular, and are nineteen in number.

These two mortars, together with the fifteen previously mentioned by Neuhauss (*Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1911), would seem to represent the total finds up to the present.

G. P. L. MILES.



A WITCH-GLOVE FROM WOOTTON BASSETT, WILTSHIRE.

MAN

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JULY, 1938

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Folklore.

With Plate G.

Murray.

A WITCH-GLOVE FROM WILTSHIRE. *By Dr. Margaret A. Murray.*

101 An object, which I believe to be unique and to be a survival of ancient beliefs and customs, has recently been brought to my notice. It is a 'witch-glove' from Wootton Bassett in Wiltshire, and is now in the possession of Mr. C. L. de Beaumont, by whose kind permission I publish the photograph. The object is an oak board, 12" x 10" x 1", standing on four feet. On the upper side of the board is a hollow shaped like a hand. A wooden bar is hinged to the left side of the board, and when the hand—presumably the right hand—is placed in the hollow the bar is brought over the wrist and held firmly in position by hook and chain. The hand is thus held immovable. At the distal end of the board there is hinged another board of the same size as the lower board, to which it forms a kind of cover. At the proximal end of the cover and on the underside is the letter W formed by sharp-pointed brads. When the cover was shut down on the hand the brads would pierce the flesh. The 'glove' is said to have been used to punish witches after the criminal laws against them were repealed. But such a punishment was entirely illegal at the date (circa 1800) of the glove. I regard it as a survival of the ancient custom of tattooing which was kept up by the 'witches' to a late date and was called the 'Devil's Mark' by their enemies. Its use survived into the last century as a method of punishment, in the same way that the religious rite of the ordeal by water survived as the ducking of witches.

POTTERY AMONG THE WANGONI AND WANDENDEHULE, SOUTHERN TANGANYIKA. *By M. H. Dorman, District Office, Mikindani, South Tanganyika.*

102 At the beginning of the last century one of the Zulu armies sloughed off a regiment which fought its way northwards conquering and incorporating the best stock of the tribes through which it passed. This composite army settled partly in Nyasaland and partly in Songea shortly before the advent of the Germans; it was at this time that they became known as Wangoni. Here in Songea they met the Wandendehule whom they forced eastwards; the marginal peoples of each tribe intermixed but the Wangoni generally contented themselves with putting in a Swazi overlord over the Wandendehule.

The Wangoni are a people who have had only a short period as a united and separate entity before becoming subject to detribalizing influences of three kinds; the first of these was the methods adopted to suppress the 1905-06 rebellion which resulted in the death of many and the scattering of most of the Wangoni, coupled with a complete reorganization of their hereditary chieftainship; the second is the influence of missions whose policy it is to break down native customs and beliefs; and the third is the labour recruiting system which takes some 3,000 men to the coast each year, who return full of new ideas and a certain amount of scepticism. The Wandendehule on the other hand have remained outside these influences and except for the 1914-1918

war their history has remained quite undisturbed. Both tribes are situated in Songea district, Tanganyika Territory, lat. $10^{\circ} 40' S.$, long. $35^{\circ} 40' E.$ (approx.). (See sketch map.)

Potters.

(a) *Their Craft.*—The manufacture of pottery in these two tribes is a specialized, but not strictly

other work before each lesson. One informant stated that when she was a girl she had difficulty in borrowing pots, and so she started to watch other women at work, tried her own hand and was now the only potter in one of the largest villages in the district.

(b) *Their Social Influence.*—Pottery is not made

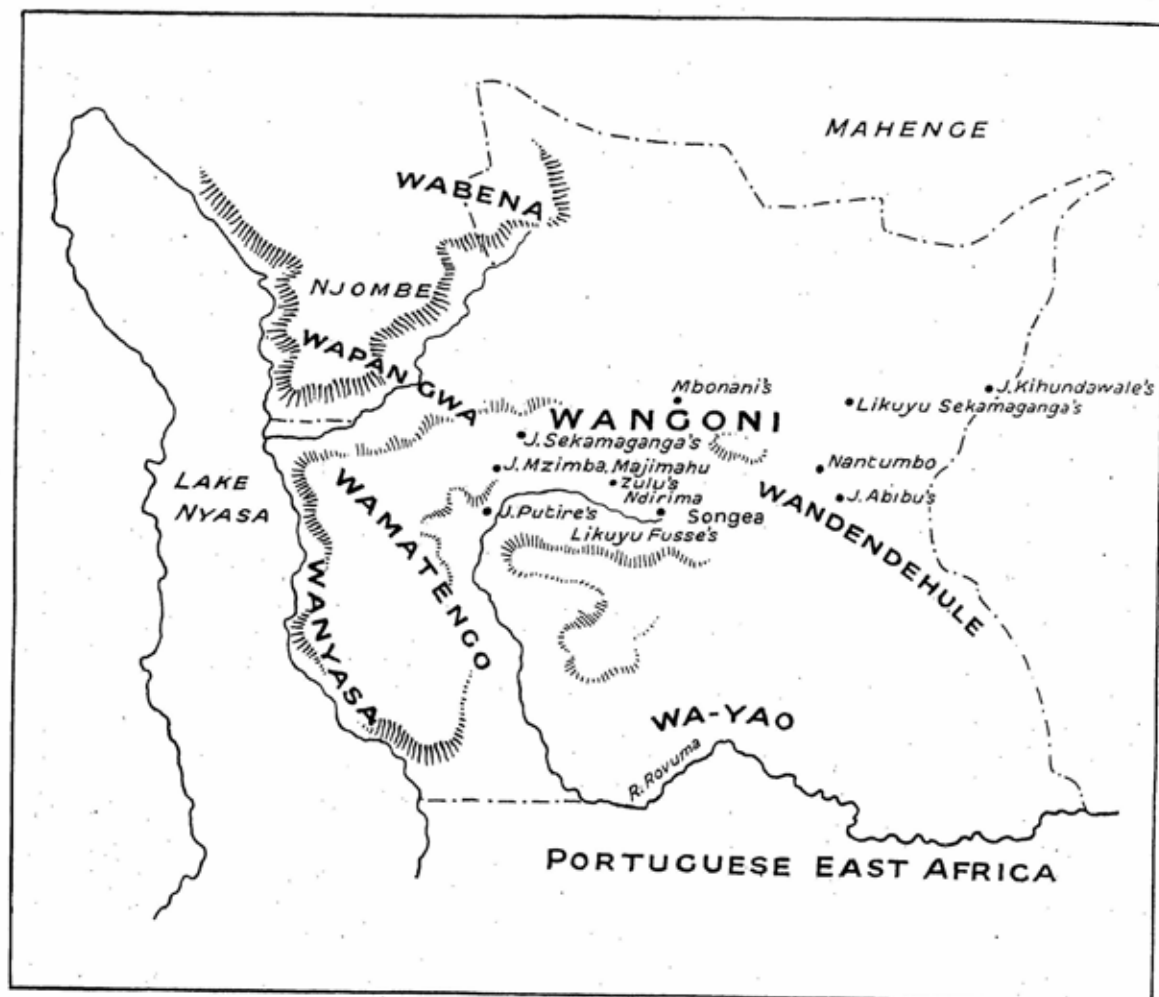


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF THE WANGONI AND WANDENDEHELE DISTRICT, SOUTHERN TANGANYIKA.

hereditary craft, specialized in that only 3 per cent. of the population are potters and these are all women, hereditary in that it is usually the daughter of a potter who carries on the craft, but not strictly hereditary because anyone outside the family may on payment of some kind learn the craft. Any member of a potter's family may be taught free of charge, but anyone outside the family must bring a present or assist in some

in any one specialized area but in almost every village of any size; so that it has little effect on tribal organization and solidarity by the dependence of the tribe on one particular area for its pots. As each village has its own supply it is never traded in markets or far from the source of manufacture, except that the very large beer drinking vessels are particularly well made in one village and may be traded for

30 miles around. Potters usually make for their own domestic use and for the relatives in their family, any member of which gets them free; a potter may make as many as 20 pots for a girl who is about to get married. They do sell their products but there is not a great demand because so many count a potter among their relatives.

(c) *Their Technique*.—The work tends to be mechanical because of the traditional and hereditary influence, but potters are ready to learn from each other and the variety of design and of quality points to a slow improvement and not a purely mechanical copying of models; actually no potter has a model by her side at any time when she is modelling the clay. For the same reason technique, though slightly different for the two tribes, in general outline is standardized; but, particularly among the Wangoni on account of their mixed origins, the details of the technique differ widely from individual to individual; for instance, one potter uses a turntable, the next does not; some colour their pots red, some black, some both and others neither. Among the Wandendehule, however, technique is fairly strictly standardized.

Pots and their prices.

Generally speaking, imported products are in addition to, and not in place of native ware; among the most well-to-do of the clerical section European vessels may be in greater use than native pots but among the common people petrol tins and enamel ware have encroached only a little; in the country each house of the better sort may have two or three pieces, but these are in addition to the normal native pots, such as plates, mugs, kettles and saucepans. The labourers who leave the coast to return to their homes each year bring back some kind of imported vessels and these are having a leavening effect on the country. But imports have made little headway in the larger pots required for water-carrying.

The following list of pots shows their names in Kingoni, their functions, and prices, as in use to-day in both tribes. It is also usual in lieu of cash payment to accept as much food as can fill the pot bought (Fig. A, 1-8).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
FIG. 1. <i>Likarange</i> , for drinking native beer	1	0	1	6
FIG. 2. <i>Liteleku</i> , for brewing native beer	—	—	0	6
FIG. 3. <i>Kifuru</i> , for drawing water	0	2½	0	6
FIG. 4. <i>Mtara</i> , for washing (rather uncommon)	—	—	0	6

	s.	d.	s.	d.
FIG. 5. <i>Kinkombe</i> , for cooking vegetables or meat	0	1	0	2½
FIG. 6. <i>Chalika</i> , for cooking native porridge	0	1	0	2½
FIG. 7. <i>Ndiru</i> , for eating native porridge	0	1	0	1½
FIG. 8. <i>Mkele</i> , for eating vegetables or meat. A small bowl for almost anything	0	½	0	1

Manufacture of Pots.

(a) *Raw Material*.—The clay is always found close to a stream bed in the bottom of a nearby valley; it is usually khaki in colour but sometimes rather blue and always sandy in texture. No tempering material is ever used because, they say, the pot would break in the firing; the clay in its natural state is already well tempered. The normal method of preparing the clay among both tribes is to pound the clay on a stone until it is smooth and soft; some use a pestle and mortar instead of a stone and some of the Wandendehule mix their clay by hand in a small pit. Water is always added in small quantities.

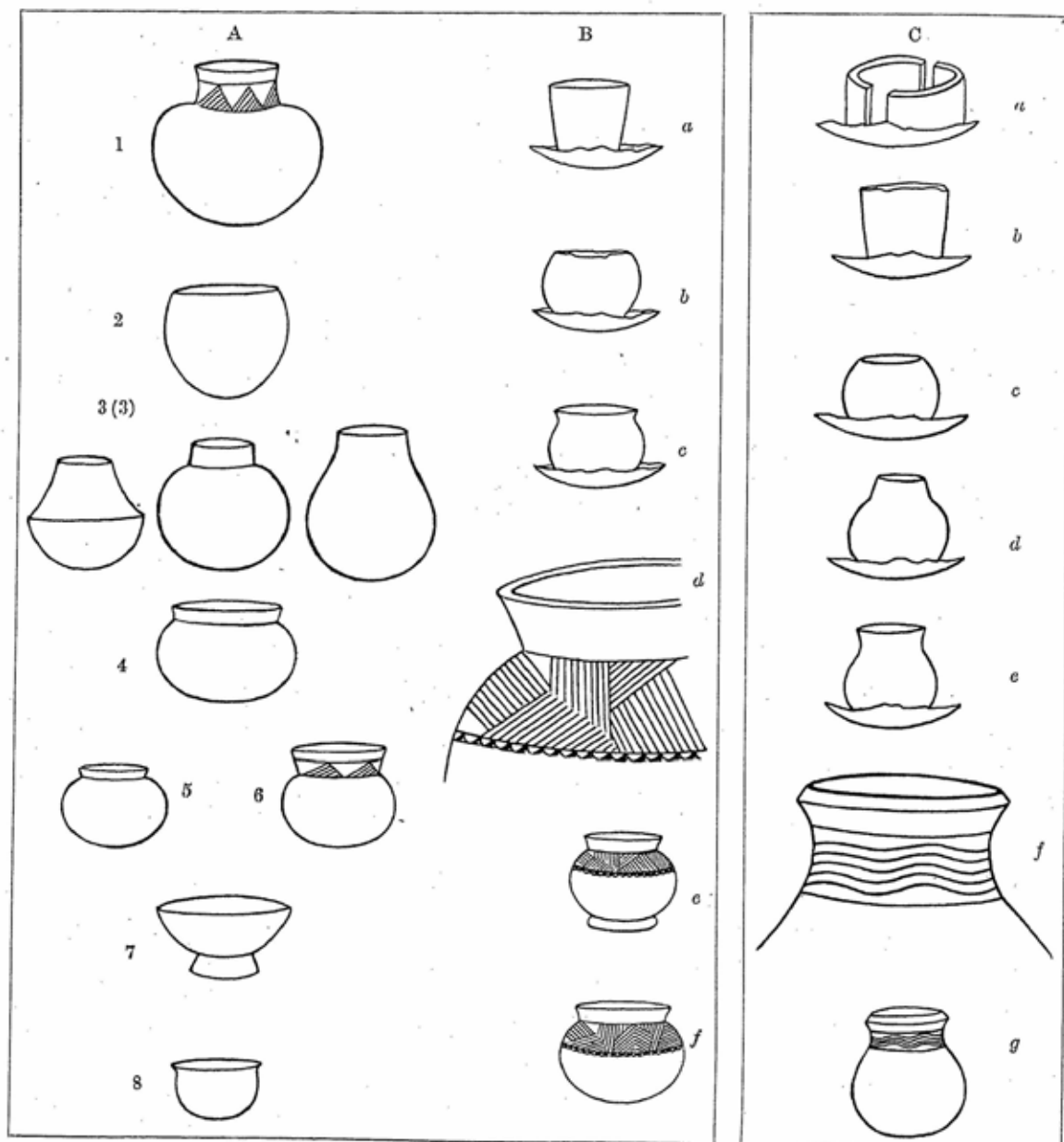
(b) *Shaping the Pot*.—There are two methods of modelling the clay in use among both tribes; one is modelling from the lump, especially used for the smaller pieces; the second is building up the larger pots on the ring or false-coiling system.

Among the Wangoni the small pots modelled from the lump are shaped on a turntable of a potsherd; the Wandendehule dispense with the potsherd and make them straight on the ground.

The large beer vessels and water-pots built on the ring system are usually started among the Wangoni in a shallow pit while the potter works round them squatting or standing as necessary; some Wangoni, however, use a turntable of a potsherd for the larger vessels. The Wandendehule as with their small pots make the large ones straight on the ground or starting in a shallow pit. Among both tribes the big vessel, whose bottom is necessarily left open at the start, may be finished either by modelling the inside of the bottom as it stands in the pit, or finishing the sides and neck, and when this is dry turning the pot over and completing the bottom from the outside.

The following rough notes taken down while actually watching the two different methods of modelling may illustrate more clearly the actual methods used.

A Kinkombe or Chalika, a small bowl 6 ins. high. Time 7.45 a.m. Operator rolls well-puddled clay into a ball, slaps into a turbush shape and smacks down



A. TYPICAL SHAPES OF POTS.

B. STAGES IN MAKING.

A. *Kinkombe*.

C. STAGES IN MAKING.

A. *Kifuru*.

on a potsherd. Puts fingers of right hand into it and scrapes out in cup form (Fig. B.a). Smooths out upper rim with thumb. Works the outside from bottom to top towards the body, scraping with a small piece of bamboo. Now the inside similarly with the convex side (and not the edge) of a small piece of pot. She says, if she first works the outside when she begins to enlarge the pot it will not crack. All this has transformed the pot to a rounded shape (Fig. B.b).

Smooths off the top edge with thumb, adding material where necessary, and works the outside turning out the lip a little. Cuts the roughness off the rim with a small sliver of bamboo the size of a match. Then smooths the top of the rim by holding the bamboo with the thumb on top and the fingers outside the pot so that it rests lengthwise along the rim, and working round the pot (Fig. B.c). Works the inside again.

A leaf of any sort is now bent over the rim and held

by the thumb and forefinger while the pot is turned, thus smoothing the lip.

Time 8.15. Dries till 8.35. Draws two lines parallel round the pot with a piece of dry grass and then similarly puts in a criss-cross decoration. With a small pointed potsherd impresses a row of dog-tooth ornament under the bottom line (Fig. B, *d* and *e*). Leaves to dry on the turntable.

Time 2.30 p.m. Pot very dry. Lifts off the turntable and scrapes the bottom hard removing a lot of clay—all rough work, thus smoothing to a decent round. Wets the rough part all over. If she wishes to make a small pedestal she puts on a roll of clay round the smooth part of the bottom in the form of a ring. The whole bottom is smoothed over as before, the sides and ornamentation being finished (Fig. B, *f*).

Now prepares colouring matter by adding water to red earth until it is a rich creamy consistency. Applies this brick red with the fingers, leaving the incised decoration plain.

Dries for ten minutes, then polishes the whole with a smooth, dry quartz pebble.

The building-up method on the ring or false-coiling system is described as follows:—

A Kifuru, for drawing water.

Time 2.30 p.m. Takes a large potsherd and with well-puddled clay makes two curved slabs the size of a man's hand; these are set facing each other on the potsherd. Smooths over the join, then pulls it up with occasional pats of water from the inside straight up (Fig. C, *a*). Rolls pencils of clay between her hands the size of two fingers together and places inside the top edge, not on top of the rim, but inside. Gradually the top gets wider and wider. Continues putting on coils from the inside to the height of 1 ft. 3 ins.

With left hand supporting the clay and right hand working inside with a potsherd, smooths up to a straight-sided bucket shape, using a lot of water (Fig. C, *b*). Smooths out the ragged top edge with a thumb.

Now works inside upwards and towards her. Pot assumes a roundish shape. After a little more working inside and out the whole is well finished in a bowl shape (Fig. C, *c*). Puts more rolls at top and smooths out sideways to form the neck and rim.

A number of shavings have fallen in the bottom on the potsherd; these with fresh material are smoothed down to fill the hole left at the start. The whole is lightly worked from the inside to the requisite smoothness without any lifting of the pot.

Smooths out the top rim with the thumb; potsherd again used to make the neck more pronounced. Works the inside turning the potsherd slowly; uses a lot of water to finish the neck and afterwards the body (Fig. C, *d*).

Begins to turn out a lip from the inside. Cuts off the ragged edge with a small bit of bamboo (Fig. C, *e*). Thoroughly wets a mango leaf, doubles it over the rim and smooths out the lip. Draws two lines parallel round the neck at the base and the top. Breaks grass into four or five short strips, holds them parallel to each other in thumb and forefinger and draws in wavy lines between the first two lines (Fig. C, *f* and *g*). Red earth in very small quantities is mixed with a little water into a thick paste and then applied with the fingers. Left to dry without stone-burnishing.

Time 3.45. The pot is now left until the following day; when it is dry and strong, it is turned over and the outside of the bottom is smoothed off, and the colour is polished with a stone.

Ornamenting the Pot.—Both tribes decorate the necks of their vessels with formal patterns, usually criss-cross and triangular. Both incising and impressing are used in this band of decoration, but not a roulette.

Both tribes colour their pots, but the Wangoni only paint them; the Wandendehule never apply any pigment before firing; see "Treatment after Firing" below. A red earth taken from a stream valley is either dried and powdered or dried, burnt and powdered. When it is required for application it is mixed into a paste with water and then applied with the fingers or a piece of rag. After the whole is dried it is polished and smoothed with a quartz pebble; it never attains a glossy but only a dull matt finish. No varnishing material is used. The use of graphite is unknown to either tribe although two Sisya women from Nyasaland working in Songea import it from their home and their work is much sought after in consequence.

Firing the Pot.—No form of kiln is ever used. The fire is set anywhere outside the house and the pot burnt in the open air. Any form of fuel is used though a preference is shown for bark or small twigs because such a fire is easier to regulate. There is no difference in the firing between the big and the small pots except in the length of time they are in the fire. Some potters leave a small pot as described for only 20 minutes, others leave them in the fire for the two or three hours required for the larger pots. All agree that firing must be preceded by some drying period after manufacture. Usually bark or small twigs are laid on the ground, the pot is placed on top and a pyramid of fuel built wigwam fashion over the top of it; grass is then laid over the whole and with the big pots a few twigs are left inside.

Treatment after Firing.—This is one of the most interesting and widely varied of phases. There are two entirely different methods of treatment after firing; either the pot is sprinkled with water while it is still hot because it is said to make the pot stronger and better by the introduction of some vegetable matter into the water; or it is held over a smoking fire to make it black.

Both tribes boil up the bark of *Mkoosi*, *Mpotapota*, or *Mtumbate* in water and then sprinkle this concoction, red in colour, on a pot which has come straight from the fire before it has cooled; some use plain water for this. If

the whole pot is to be black, both tribes may kindle a second fire from the husk of a millet and then hold the pot in the smoke. If a band of decoration only is to be black, the pot is lifted off the fire and while it is still red hot a strip of cloth is twisted round the decoration, the cloth smoulders and leaves a black sooty deposit on the decoration. All these variations are found amongst individuals in both tribes; some potters practised none and some one or two only of these methods.

Practices connected with Pottery.

There is no close season for making pottery but the following taboos are observed. At the time of digging the clay both tribes said that a pregnant woman might not enter the actual pit from which the clay was dug; if she did, all the clay would be useless and would break in the firing. This taboo extends to all women sleeping with their husbands. At the time of shaping the pot many, though not all, state that pregnant women may not be present. The Wandendehule say that if such a woman does come past inadvertently all evil effects may be averted if she sprinkles the pot with water. Except in the case of the big beer vessels, which the Wandendehule potter retires to the bush to make in complete privacy, no heavy emphasis is laid on this taboo. At the time of firing all agree that a pregnant woman may not be present; the pot will break in the fire if she is.

The Wandendehule also relate the following taboos which are practised, "from olden days to nowadays, even to to-morrow." A woman who is returning with clay after digging it and is carrying it on her head, may not greet anyone on the path¹ or else the pots will break in the firing.

¹ Cf. H. A. Junod. *The Life of a South African Tribe*. Vol. II, p. 112.

A menstruous woman may not dig or carry clay; the pots will break and the clay in that place will be of no use in future. Both tribes say that there is a taboo on quarrelling with a potter while she is at work, or else the pot will break in the fire.

In digging fresh clay from a new place the Wandendehule will make a propitiatory offering of a small pot of the first earth dug and set it at the bottom of a tree for the first inhabitants of the place, the 'wazee wa zamani' since the clay is regarded as their property; they pray that these spirits may help them to make good pots. It is clear that in such notes as these all practices cannot be included; several for which no confirmation has been available have therefore been excluded and this should not be regarded as a complete list of tabus or practices.

Conclusion.—It has been necessary to include both Wangoni and Wandendehule in these notes because although the differences between the two are slight the Wangoni have a more interesting technique of manufacture and the Wandendehule are more informative on the practices connected with pottery. Their history of conquest and incorporation of many tribes explains small varieties of method and procedure which are met with among the Wangoni; but the influence of Missions and the effect of the annual exodus to seek work at the coast have rendered them too sophisticated to express easily pagan or heretical customs and beliefs. The Wandendehule, on the other hand, being comparatively impervious to outside influences and their social organization never having evolved much beyond the family or clan system, their custom and belief has been preserved as a living system whose efficacy and power they are not ashamed to admit.

MEASUREMENT OF HEAD LENGTH AND BREADTH: THE SYSTEMS OF BROCA, TOPINARD, MONACO AGREEMENT, BRITISH ASSOCIATION, MARTIN. By M. L. Tildesley.

103 Now that an international attempt is in progress to arrive at a common technique taking measurements common to many anthropometric investigations¹, the time is opportune for a survey of the methods used hitherto by British anthropologists. As a small beginning in such a survey the present article deals with two characters only: the maximum length and breadth of the

living head. It confines itself to such directions as have been issued from time to time, since 1874, by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in successive editions of *Anthropological Notes and Queries* and in the *Report of the Committee on Anthropometric Investigation in the British Isles* (1909); and, for comparison, the directions given by Paul Broca and Paul Topinard (whose technique so largely influenced the earlier editions of *N. and Q.*), by the Monaco Agreement

¹ Comité de Standardisation de la Technique anthropologique (C.S.T.A.).

of 1906, and by Rudolf Martin. There are, of course, other important schools to be reckoned with in shaping an agreement; but we may make a beginning with the above.

Instruments.—The instrument prescribed by Broca in his *Instructions générales sur l'Anthropologie*, 1867, is the spreading calipers (pp. 69, 93), and when Dr. Beddoe, in the first edition of *N. and Q.* (1874), prescribes "Index-calipers, . . . not too slender or elastic" the description leaves little doubt that they were of the spreading, not sliding, type.

In 1876, Topinard's *L'Anthropologie* mentions both types as suitable for head diameters (p. 341), and Garson follows suit in the 2nd and 3rd edns. of *N. and Q.*, 1892 and 1899:—He describes and figures his "Traveller's Anthropometer" (pp. 8, 10, 11; fig. 2) whose arms are part straight, part "curved so as to form calipers of the exact pattern of Flower's craniometer," and indicates these sliding calipers for head length and breadth. But as alternative equipment he recommends Topinard's 'Anthropometric Box,' and this contains spreading calipers.² Spreading calipers, it should be noted, have round tips, whereas in all the sliding calipers recommended here and later, the parts that come into contact with the head are flat surfaces parallel to one another. While these are small in some (Flower's, for example), their size varies, and where pressure is used the shape and size of the tips may affect the measurement.

The British Association's *Anthropometric Committee's Report*, 1909, specifies sliding calipers alone, though with a choice of types; and though *N. and Q.*, 1912, says vaguely "the calipers or one of the numerous instruments devised for the purpose" (p. 6), on p. 12 it refers one to the *Report* for "more detailed instructions for anthropometric work of all kinds."

Finally, in 1929; *N. and Q.* reverts to spreading calipers (p. 5), and in so doing comes into line with the Monaco agreement³ and with Rudolf Martin, who prescribes, describes and figures the "Tasterzirkel" for head-length and breadth.⁴

Pressure.—Though Broca did not⁵, and Topinard

did⁶, press the skin in taking these diameters, the British Association gave no directions as to pressure until, in the *Report* of 1909, it prescribed "as much as can comfortably be borne" (p. 7), directions to which Martin is not quite fair when he translates them without the "comfortably." (The 1912 paraphrase in *N. and Q.* is "firm, but not uncomfortable" (p. 6)). He goes on to say: "Such a measurement is not only painful but inexact, and should therefore be rejected."⁷ As to its inexactitude, *N. and Q.* 1929 fully agrees with him. It says (p. 6) "Measurements should all be by contact, that is, no pressure should be exerted, the points of the calipers just touching the skin. Many anthropologists use pressure, but in this case the amount of pressure, unless checked by a gauge, which is not satisfactory in the field, varies with the individual, whereas the contact method once learned is more easily standardized." This is also the method adopted at Monaco.

The British change in 1929 to 'no pressure' would increase the values obtained by some mm. supposing the technique to be the same in all other respects. But to examine the technique further we must treat length and breadth separately.

Measurement of Maximum Length.—That the glabella is the anterior terminal and the most distant occipital point the other, is common to all the definitions, but Topinard and *N. and Q.* of 1874 and 1899, unlike the other B.A. instructions, did not specify that it must be measured "in the mid-line at the back of the head," and would therefore give a greater length in cases of marked occipital asymmetry. Broca says "on the median line," and Monaco and Martin "in the median plane."

Clearer definition of the procedure of identifying the occipital terminal would be an advantage. Given a head symmetrical in all its contours, symmetrical also in the position of the ears and neck-muscles, it would not be difficult to make the same determination of the 'median plane' or of the 'mid-line at the back of the head' by any of these features; but complete symmetry is not the rule. If the 'median plane' should be determined by the shape of the head as seen from above, the observer must be able to look down upon it; and Martin does make the observer sit for head

² *Eléments d'Anthrop. générale*, by Paul Topinard, 1885, p. 1139.

³ *Congrès international d'Anthrop. et d'Archéol. préhist.*: *Compte rendu de la 13^e Session, Monaco, 1906.*

⁴ *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* (1914), p. 109 and figs. 27, 44: (1928) I, p. 124 and figs. 48, 69.

⁵ *Instructions*, 1879, p. 165.

⁶ *Eléments d'Anthrop. générale*, 1885, p. 708.

⁷ *Lehrbuch* (1914), p. 157; (1928) I, p. 181.

measurements. So does the Brit. Assn. in 1929 (*N. and Q.*, p. 5) having given no directions previously.

From 1909 onwards the current B.A. instructions give the left hand the easier task of holding one point of the calipers on the glabella, while the occipital point is sought with the help of the right. The observer thus stands to the left of the subject, a position which Broca describes, and Martin also in the *Lehrbuch* of 1914: "The 'one caliper tip, held between thumb and 'forefinger of the left hand, is laid quietly and 'without pressure on the glabella, and with 'the other tip one travels slowly up and down 'the back of the head in the median plane, 'keeping the eyes on the scale and reading off 'the highest value reached" (p. 157). In his *Anthropometrie*, however (p. 16), Martin tells the observer to stand on R. or L. side according to the direction of the light, a curious instruction when there is a sound reason for keeping to the left and when it is so easy to let the subject face whichever way the light requires. But a return was made to the left side in the *Lehrbuch* of 1928 (I, p. 125). A logical modification of this rule would be to prescribe the right side for left-handed observers.

Measurement of Maximum Breadth.—Broca's first *Instructions* (p. 162), define this as "perpendicular to the profile of the head," amended in the second edn. (p. 166) to "perpendicular 'to the median plane of the head." Martin repeats the latter, and adds: "The points of 'measurement must lie in the same transverse 'and horizontal planes."⁸ The *Report* of 1909 (p. 8) and *N. and Q.* 1912 (p. 6) give similar instructions, though in the *Report* they are less precisely worded: "in a vertical transverse 'plane . . . the points of the calipers exactly 'opposite to one another." *N. and Q.* 1874 (p. 4) gives no directions of the sort, and 1929 (p. 6) says only that "the instrument must be held 'horizontally." Though the definitions should be complete it is probable that the difference between them makes little difference in practice—and perhaps equally probable that most observers are guided more by the position of the ears than by median, transverse and horizontal planes determined by some other criterion.

In 1874 the British Association (like Broca) permitted maximum breadth to be taken anywhere: "One should fix the point tentatively,

"and note whether much above or behind the 'ear," but one is not told to reject any of these sites. In 1892 and 1899 it might not be taken "low down behind the ears." In 1909 and 1912 it was confined to the region above the ear-holes. In 1929 it was raised to above the level of the ears themselves (and at this point came into line with Topinard's definition in *L'Anthropologie*, 1876, p. 341).

At Monaco it was said it must lie above the supra-mastoid ridges, but Martin does not put any limit to the possible sites: his definition says "wherever it may be found." The directions which follow, however, in both editions of the *Lehrbuch*, are rather misleading in that they direct one to move the calipers zigzag up and down above the ears (in *Anthropometrie* these three words are omitted), though they also go on to say that the height of this character may vary between the parietal eminences and the region behind the ears.

In the majority of cases the various limits imposed would have no practical effect, since Nature herself most frequently puts the greatest breadth above the ear-level; but since a limit, when it has any effect at all, would always operate to prevent a larger measure being obtained, its imposition and progressive raising by the British Association to the level imposed by Topinard would have tended gradually to reduce the mean value of head-breadth on a series; also to render it less comparable with mean values obtained à la Monaco, and still less with Broca's and Martin's.

Conclusions.—The definitions published by the British Association before 1909 having been superseded in practice, we need only consider the main differences outstanding to-day between those of the *Report* (still used by many as the standard technique), the 1929 edn. of *Notes and Queries*, and the French and German schools and the Monaco agreement. They are: (1) type of caliper—and by changing from sliding to spreading, the British came into line with the others in 1929; (2) pressure or no pressure, and again a change in 1929, to 'no pressure,' made us agree with all but Topinard; (3) level at which to measure maximum breadth, and here, in 1929, we agree with Topinard and not with Broca and Martin, while Monaco comes in between.

In some points, still clearer definition has been indicated as necessary.

⁸ *Lehrbuch* (1914), p. 159; (1928) I, p. 182.

A SILVER 'PETAT' FROM EAST JAVA. By H. G. Beasley. Cranmore Ethnographical Museum. Illustrated.

104 The accompanying photographs represent two unusual silver ornaments which have recently been acquired by Cranmore Ethnographical Museum. They are in the form of *Garuda* birds with spreading tails and outstretched wings and are slotted at the back to

receive a *rotan* rod as shown in the plate. They are worn attached to the belt of boys who have been newly circumcised and serve to prevent the *sarong* garment from touching the penis. See Jasper and Mas Perngadié, *Die Inlandsche Kunstnijver in Nederlandsche Indie*, Vol. IV, p. 217.

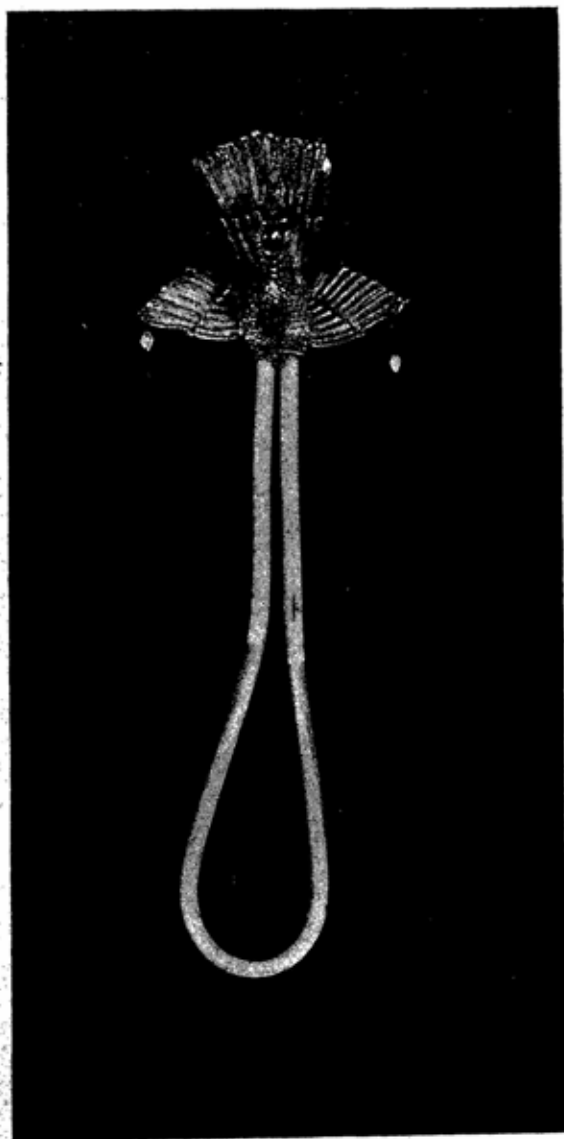


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

Recent Discoveries in South African Physical Anthropology. Summary of a communication presented by Dr. Alexander Galloway : 24 May, 1938.

The recent private palaeontological discoveries at Sterkfontein, Transvaal, South Africa, by Mr. Robert Broom, are of outstanding importance in verifying the conclusions derived from the original Taungs skull, and in showing yet another link in the chain of man's ancestry.

In South African physical anthropology proper there is a great deal of confusion in terminology. The use of the terms Boskop, Bush, and Negro physical types, to describe the fundamental physical types in South Africa is more satisfactory than the use of cultural terms such as Hottentot and Bantu, but it must be remembered that the terms Boskop and Bush have no chronological significance, but are merely physical descriptive terms.

The Florisbad skull, despite its superficial Neanderthal appearance, belongs to an early type of *Homo sapiens*. While it is in metrical agreement with Neanderthal skulls, the anatomical features of the skull and endocranial cast place it definitely as *Homo sapiens*. Such a skull could well represent a descendant from the Rhodesian type and could well be ancestral to the Boskop and Australian types.

The bones recovered from the excavations at Bambadyanalo, a site close to Mapungubwe confirm the conclusions on the Mapungubwe skeletal material. The bones are not 'Bantu' but find their nearest counterpart in the bones of the pre-Bantu inhabitants of South Africa. It is, however, not the task of the specialist to theorize on his findings, but the task of the historian to examine all the evidence and then pronounce a verdict.

Did Sinanthropus practise Cannibalism? Summary of a communication made by Dr. Franz Weidenreich : 31 May, 1938.

The Anthropology of Prehistoric Cyprus. Summary of a communication made by Mr. M. M. Riz and Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton : 14 June, 1938. This summary is already printed in *Man*, 1938, 87.

Ethnographical Museums and the Collector : Aims and Methods. Summary of the Presidential Address delivered by Mr. H. J. Eranholtz at the Annual Meeting : 28 June, 1938.

The Presidential Address will be printed in full in the *Journal* LXVIII, 1938.

Committee on Applied Anthropology : Discussion on the Australian Aborigines. 27 May, 1938.

Dr. Donald Thompson opened a discussion on the present condition of the Australian aborigines, with particular reference to those who are still living under some approximation to tribal conditions. He emphasized the serious rate at which depopulation

was occurring, pointing out that the actual population of the areas studied by him was very much smaller than that assumed in official estimates. In addition to the effects of introduced diseases, he considered that this was the result both of deliberate policies and of indirect influences tending to induce them to abandon their traditional mode of life. In all areas where there are European centres and rations are issued, the aborigines give up their nomadic habits in order to be near the source of rations, which are quite inadequate as a substitute for the normal native diet. Thus the highly specialized methods of obtaining and treating food, developed in relation to the specialized fauna and flora of different localities, are forgotten. The specialized nature of native methods of obtaining food, again, means that any given tribe is unable to obtain an adequate diet if moved from its area. The policy of missionary organizations has been to make the development of settled populations the first aim, but it has proved impossible to make the aborigines into gardeners, and there is no local demand for any products of native agriculture. The measures which he recommended to meet the situation were the complete segregation of native organization from European influences by the enforcement of the principle already laid down by legislation that the reserves should be inviolable; in particular the watering depots for pearling vessels created in the reserves should be abandoned. A judicial system specially adapted to native conceptions of law should be introduced, and in place of the existing system, whereby members of the police force are appointed 'Protectors of Natives,' a special native-affairs service should be created and staffed by trained anthropologists. This should be organized in mobile patrols which would accompany the natives on their wanderings and be responsible for their protection and for the maintenance of domestic peace. This system of complete segregation should be maintained until a constructive development policy for those aborigines who are already detribalized had been worked out. Additional medical services were also essential.

Committee on Applied Anthropology : Deputation to the Secretary of State for the Dominions.

A deputation from the Applied Anthropology Committee has been received by the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Dominions, in order to discuss the question of the consultation of native opinion with regard to the transfer of the High Commission Territories to the Union of South Africa. The deputation was introduced by Lord Onslow, who referred to the difficulty experienced by the Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa in understanding the point of view of the native witnesses who appeared before it. Professor Malinowski emphasised the existence of a native opinion on political questions of this kind, which was strongly held, even if not always well informed. Dr. Edwin Smith pointed

out that, as regards the Basuto, a recognised organ for the expression of native opinion existed in the National Council, and added that the secure possession of their land was the matter on which they felt most deeply. Mr. Hobley mentioned a number of directions in which anthropological inquiry might throw light on the probable effect of transfer on native interests. Dr. Margaret Read stated that the subject was a matter of discussion among natives as far north as Nyasaland; from her

experience of various consultations of native opinion, held while she was in that territory, she urged that the traditionally recognized channels for ascertaining the opinion of the tribes should be utilized, and that great care should be taken in the interpretation into native language of terms referring to political institutions.

Mr. MacDonald assured the deputation that these considerations would be borne in mind in putting the issue before native opinion.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

West China Border Research Society.

111 The undeclared war between China and Japan has not yet put an end to anthropological research in West China. There are both Chinese and foreigners who, in spite of disturbed conditions, are carrying on anthropological research.

In the spring of 1937, Dr. W. R. Morse returned to the United States on furlough. He had taken nearly three thousand anthropometrical measurements of Chinese and aborigines in West China and had published a few short articles on Physical Anthropology. Recently his book, *Schedule of physical anthropological measurements and observations on ten ethnic groups of Szechuan Province, China*, has been published in Chengtu as a supplement to the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, Vol. VIII. The groups represented are Chinese, Chung Chia, Ta Hwa Miao, Ch'uan Miao, Ch'iang, Tibetan, Hsi Fan, Gia Rong, Black Noso, White Noso, and Bo Lo Tsi. Two thousand eight hundred and forty-three measurements are included in this publication.

The West China Border Research Society is a thriving organization that has been giving lectures and publishing Journals since 1922. It now numbers in its membership prominent scientists in Europe, Canada, the United States, and China. The lectures for the year 1937-1938 are as follows:

- 'Some West China Horizons' ... Daniel S. Dye
- 'Studies in Physiological Anthropology' ... Leslie G. Kilborn
- 'Geography and Agriculture in Southwest Szechuan' ... Li Ming-liang
- 'The Cross-Stitch Embroideries of West China' ... Carl Schuster
- 'The Pictorial Script of the Nashi' Wen Tsai-yu
- 'Reincarnation among the Lamas of Tibet' ... R. L. Cunningham

'Original Buddhism and Lamaism'

Mme. David-Neel

'Chinese Mysticism and Chinese Art' S. H. Fong

'Some Aspect of China's Religious Heritage' Frank A. Smalley

'The Darkest Age in Hanchow' V. A. Donnithorne

Madame Alexandra David-Neel with her adopted son, Lama Yong-den, has recently arrived in Chengtu, and is now on her way to Tatsienlu in order to continue her researches in Tibetan religions. Madame David-Neel has written several important books and many articles on Lamaism in Tibet.

The Academia Sinica has several anthropologists and ethnologists at work in West China. Mr. Ma Ch'ang Shou has spent nearly two years among the Noso and the Ch'iang. Mr. Chuang Hsueh Pen who has done extensive research work on the China-Tibetan Border and who was with the Panchen Lama until his death near Lake Kokonor, is now in Chengtu, and is to spend two months among the Ch'iang and the Gia Rong. During his recent travels he discovered a large tribe of Miao north-east of Lake Kokonor who are called by the Chinese Beh Miao of Northern Miao. This is of great historical importance. In the *Book of History* it is stated that the Miao were so refractory that some of them were banished to western Kansu. Since then, they have been lost sight of and some writers have inferred that they were absorbed or exterminated. It is very likely that the Beh Miao are their descendants. There is also a small group of Miao near Mowchow in western Szechuan, that has hitherto been unnoticed by scientists, who may be descendants of those who in the dawn of Chinese history were banished to western Kansu.

DAVID C. GRAHAM.

Chengtu, Szechuan.

OBITUARY.

Robert Sutherland Rattray: 1881-14th May, 1938.

112 Captain Robert Sutherland Rattray lost his life in a gliding accident on May 14, at Farmoor, near Oxford. Only a week before he had taken a leading part in founding the new Oxford University and City Gliding Club for which he acted as instructor. While still on

African service he had shown deep interest in aeronautics. He learnt to fly when on leave in England and, with little experience behind him, piloted his own machine out to the Gold Coast. He was the first airman to perform this exploit. After retiring from Africa and settling at Winslow, Bucks., he took up gliding with enthusiasm and

was frequently to be found on the Downs at Dunstable. He made some notable soaring flights, including a climb of 5,000 feet in a thunderstorm and a flight of 64 miles from Dunstable to Burnham-on-Crouch last June.

But it is as an anthropologist that he will be remembered. He made his first acquaintance with Africa as a trooper in the South African War. Thereafter, from 1902, he served the African Lakes Corporation in Nyasaland. There he not only made a name as a fearless hunter, but also collected folklore and stories in the Nyanja language, which were published in 1907. In that year he went to the Gold Coast in the Customs Service. Transferred to the administrative department, he became an Assistant District Commissioner in 1911, a District Commissioner in 1915, and acting Senior Assistant Colonial Secretary and Clerk to the Legislative Council in 1920. During the World War he served in Togoland, being mentioned in dispatches.

Before this he had employed his periodical leave to good purpose. In 1918 he had been called to the Bar by Gray's Inn. He joined Exeter College, Oxford in 1909, and became a pupil of Dr. R. R. Marett. He was always grateful to the Oxford School of Anthropology for the training and encouragement it gave him.

In 1921, he became the first head of the new Anthropological Department on the Gold Coast set up by the Governor, Sir F. D. Guggisberg on the initiative of Mr. C. H. Harper, the Civil Commissioner of Ashanti. Rattray was the inevit-

able man for the post, having studied the people and gained their confidence during the preceding years. His first success lay in investigating the Golden Stool and the Annual Report of 1921 acknowledged handsomely that it was due to his research that Government was able to deal in a sympathetic spirit with the disturbing event of the desecration of that famous symbol. The results of Rattray's first year of work in his new capacity were embodied in his volume *Ashanti*, which at once placed him in the front rank of African anthropologists. It was followed by *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927), *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929). The trilogy was marked by Rattray's diligent observation, competence in the language and deep sympathy with the people. He followed this with a survey, largely linguistic, of the northern territories—*The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (1932). His other books were *Hausa Folklore and Customs* (1913), *An Elementary Mole Grammar* (1918), *Akan-Ashanti Folk-tales* (1930) and *The Leopard Princess* (1934).

Rattray was D.Sc. (Oxon.); C.B.E.; and Palmes d'Officier d'Académie (France). He was for 30 years a Fellow of the Institute, a member of the Council for some years, and was awarded the Rivers Medal in 1933. After his retirement, he taught Hausa to the Colonial Probationers at Oxford.

Slight in build, modest and retiring in demeanour, he was yet a man of splendid courage and of strong views in many respects. His friends cherished a warm affection for him.

E. W. S.

REVIEWS

AFRICA.

Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Oxford University Press, 1937. pp. 558+xxv, with 34 plates, 11 maps and text figures, and index. Price 21s.

Every reader must heartily endorse the opinion passed by Professor Seligman in the foreword to this book that it is one of the leading works in British anthropology during the past few years. It is indeed an excellent book on a difficult subject, stimulating, packed full of facts, and easily written. And although the author shows an acute awareness of the theoretical problems involved in a study of magic his treatment is not obscured by an exhaustive analysis of the contributions of the past.

From the point of view of fieldwork, the book impresses by its soundness. The material—like that of Malinowski in the Trobriands—was gathered during three expeditions to the area over a period of twenty months in all, and so has been checked and the gaps filled. Its strength lies not only in the mass of material so brought together, but in the admirable way in which the data have been digested. Not only has the author collected the views of a wide range of informants on any particular topic, but he has systematically pursued the policy of probing the information collected, of challenging the statements of his informants by putting to them opposing views, and even of asking them questions of calculated indiscretion. Moreover, he has supplemented the verbal records with keen observation of native behaviour, and has not hesitated to turn to account the reactions of his own servants to each other, and the needs of his own existence

among the people. He had ground nuts planted and took Zande opinion on whether they would grow; he consulted the oracles himself and had his personal servant initiated into the corporation of witch-doctors. In brief the work is of a quality which might be expected of a Rivers Memorial medallist.

On the theoretical side, the book is of great value in several directions. It avoids on the whole the reduction of concrete native expressions to abstract terminology, and describes what the Azande classify as *mangu*, *soroka*, and *ngua* rather than what the author considers as the theoretical divisions of witchcraft, oracles, and magic. In so doing the book adds a great deal to our knowledge of the role which these three phenomena can play in the life of a native community. It is impossible here to do more than note that the analysis of the three main themes provides an admirable study of magic in all its social relationships.

Perhaps the greatest theoretical interest of the book lies in the number of subsidiary problems which are formulated and to which an answer is given in the course of the treatment of the main theme. Zande notions of causality; conceptions of the supernatural; the relations of laymen to professional specialists; the relation of oracular to everyday utterances; the problems of faith and scepticism; of cheating with oracles; of conflicting interests of professional witch doctors; of the nature of native medicines and their real or supposed effects; of personal taboo and ritual performance; of the morality of different types of magic; of magic and

empire in leech-craft; of the plasticity of belief—such are but a few of the questions raised, the treatment of which must give a stimulus to much future work.

A book of this kind deserves critical examination of some of the spheres and generalizations which appear to be less rigidly worked out. It is perhaps too much to ask, in what is already a lengthy volume, for rather more background of the Zande social life than has been given in the eight pages of Chapter III, and for a comparative summary at the end of the generalizations from the Zande material, in the light of those from other areas. Some of this has, in fact, already been given by the author in his many contributions to periodicals in this country and in the Sudan, as well as in a general paper some years ago on the morphology of magic.

But in view of the current attempts to seek for economic determinants of social institutions, exemplified by Radin's recent revival of the "exploitation theory" of magic a fuller and more systematic examination of the economic elements associated with witchcraft and consultation of the oracles would have been welcome. We are told that kinsfolk and blood-brothers have to assist a man convicted of witchcraft to find compensation; that presents have to be given to the person who performs an autopsy on a body, to induce him to bury it; that there are economic incitements to witchcraft; and that wealthy commoners and princes are not normally accused of witchcraft. The social and political aspects of these phenomena are well explained. But a clearer analysis of the relation of the differential distribution of wealth in the community to the frequency of accusations of witchcraft, and of identifications of it, would have been useful. And in connexion with the frequency of consultation of the *benge* oracle, it would be desirable to know exactly how far comparative wealth in fowls affects the situation.

In the matter of terminology, the author has followed his own conventions, which are not altogether in accord with common usage. Thus he uses the term 'witchcraft' not only for the putative action of the witchcraft-substance and of its emanation, but also for the substance itself sought or discovered in the bodies of persons. Again the use of the term 'witch' for both males and females may perplex some readers since in English it applies normally to females. Moreover the clarity of the Zande distinction between witchcraft, which is never in fact practised, and sorcery, which is the actual practice of bad magic, makes it somewhat difficult to apply the author's generalizations directly to the phenomena of Oceanic and Australian peoples where the distinction does not obtain to the same extent. A comparative note on the specific use of all these terms would have been useful to a reader in areas other than Africa.

One cannot cavil at the documentation presented for most of the generalizations; but it might have been better at some points to have given native statements as a backing to the author's formulations. In the absence of such statements, they occasionally appear to be inconsistent. Thus on p. 37 it is said "it is necessary to explain that Azande normally think of witchcraft quite impersonally and apart from any particular witch or witches." Yet on the following page the author says "witchcraft means therefore some or any witches. . . the concept of witchcraft is not that of an impersonal force that may become attached to persons, but of a personal force that is generalized in speech." Again "in point of fact Azande generally regard witchcraft as an individual trait, and it is treated as such in spite of its association with kinship. . . Azande do not perceive the contradiction as we perceive it because they have no theoretical interest in the

subject, and those situations in which they express their beliefs in witchcraft do not force the problem upon them" (p. 25). But "the Zande mind is logical and inquiring within the framework of its culture and insists on the coherence of its own idiom . . . if it is hereditary it can be discovered in the belly of a close male kinsman or a witch as surely as in the belly of the witch himself" (p. 42). To give one more example. "Witchcraft tends to become synonymous with the sentiments which are supposed to cause it, so that Azande think of hatred and envy and greed in terms of witchcraft and likewise think of witchcraft in terms of the sentiments it discloses" (p. 107). But "Azande will not allow one to say that anybody who hates another is a witch, or that witchcraft and hatred are synonymous. In their representation of witchcraft hatred is one thing, and witchcraft another thing" (p. 108). It is clear that these pairs of statements are not absolutely contradictory but it needs some subtlety to resolve the apparent inconsistency. The fact that they are found in close connexion suggests that they are the result of an over-precision in the one case followed by an attempt to correct this by a counter-statement. Since they are eminently quotable and are likely to be used by future theorists on magic it would have been better to have supplemented them in each case by native formulations to avoid any such difficulties as have been created in the case of Codrington's material on *mana*.

It will be seen from the brief reference that has been given to some of the principal features of the book that it will provide an invaluable source of material for anthropological theory. But in addition it is welcome as an important contribution to applied anthropology. The expeditions of the author were carried out at the invitation of the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and mainly at their expense. It is to be hoped that the knowledge thus gained of some of the most difficult aspects of native belief and practice with which administration has to deal, will give a stimulus to other Colonial Governments to act in a similar manner.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

The Bornu Sahara and Sudan. By Sir Richmond Palmer, K.C.M.G. London: Murray, 1936. viii + 296 pp., 79 illustrations, 3 maps. Price 42s. net.

Long and intimate contact with Bornu and the Islamic North of Nigeria have made Sir Richmond Palmer eminently qualified to write the history of that important centre of African civilization, the Western Sudan. He presents us here with a most comprehensive account of the civilization of Bornu as it grew through the centuries, reflecting in its history the history of many races and cultures of Africa. History, in Sir Richmond Palmer's writings, is understood in its widest sense. It comprises historical records and chronicles; it utilizes the elusive information that can be gleaned from the comparison of cultural similarities and linguistic data in Africa, Europe or Asia; it reaches back to the hypothetical past of an earliest Africa contemporaneous with the civilization of ancient Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia. Like the author, the reader of this book must not be afraid of distance in space or time.

In the centre of the book stands a unique collection of Arabic manuscripts from Nigeria—an impressive testimony to the author's industry and gift of discovery. These manuscripts were composed by Bornu and Hausa scholars and court historians, ancient and modern, and embrace 800 years of Bornu and Nigerian history. Most of them are published here (in English translation) for the first time. The first group of records is to my mind the most interesting one. It consists of *Mahrams*,

"grants of privilege," bestowed by various Bornu kings on state officers, families of high rank, or groups of privileged strangers living in Bornu, such as the Fulbe or the "Tura"—merchants of "Syrian and Asiatic provenance" (p. 15). The earliest of these *Mahrams* is dated 1086-1097. The texts, framed in certain set formulae, blessings and forms of address, quote occasionally lists of tribes and countries known at the time, a few historical facts, and certain data concerning the political situation. Some of them contain illuminating information on the political organization of the kingdom of Bornu. Thus we learn, for example, that exemption from tax is part of the privilege granted by the king to an influential alien (Fulbe) family (p. 36). But "the history of Bornu is" in the words of the author, "the history of its ruling caste, the Maghumi" (p. 6). Many of the manuscripts are documents of a narrow dynastic history only, chronological lists of kings, short and rather insignificant records of their reign, their wars, and the more peculiar circumstances of their life and death. But these documents are merely a framework for the detailed and stimulating comments and explanations which the author has to give. They cover a field far beyond that defined by the contents of the records themselves. Sir Richmond Palmer brings together all literature, ancient and modern, European, Arab and African, that bears on the Sudan, its history and its races. He draws almost the whole history of human civilization into the circle of data which he uses to elucidate episodes and names referred to in the records. It is sometimes difficult not to lose the theme over the rich variations which envelop it.

Where records and comments bear on anthropological questions of present-day Nigeria the author's explanations are less convincing. I was interested to discover in one of the records a reference to the joking relationship between the Bari-Bari and Fulbe of Bornu (p. 64). I have found this joking relationship still existing between descendants of the two tribes who are living to-day in entirely new surroundings and, by a curious turn of fate, again as neighbours, namely, between the Fulbe rulers of Nupe and the Bari-Bari settlers in Nupe country. In Northern Nigeria joking relationship in the kinship group goes often hand in hand with cross-cousin relationship. But to explain, as Sir Richmond Palmer does, the joking relationship between tribes or tribal sections as implying original cross-cousin relationship and actual descent in male and female line (pp. 73-74), means confusing an accepted rationalization with actual social origin. The author, like many writers on Northern Nigeria, adopts the rather misleading use of Hausa terms when dealing with non-Hausa cultural facts. Thus the Gwari, according to Palmer, recognize the superiority of the Koro "caste," (the Koro, incidentally, are not a caste, but a tribe), "the Gwari saying that their *tsafi* (medicine) is more powerful" (134). The Gwari most certainly could not have said that, for *tsafi* is a Hausa word, and a very indiscriminate word at that, while the Gwari word for 'medicine' is *shigbe*, and for magic *kuti*.

The historian will no doubt find a wealth of fascinating material in this book, though, I fancy, of very unequal value. The social anthropologist, to which more prosaic guild the reviewer belongs, will search, perhaps a little impatiently, for the sociologically interesting and relevant facts which are scattered through the book. Neither, however, will deny his admiration for the grandiose canvas on which Sir Richmond Palmer paints his picture of West African culture and history. Beautiful photographs, interesting drawings and fascinating historical maps lend their support to this imposing volume.

S. F. NADEL.

Centres d'Art de la Sculpture Nègre Africaine.

115 II. Guinée Portugaise, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Or, Togo, Dahomay et Nigéria. By Carl Kjerfve, Paris, Morancé, 1936. 45 pp., pls. 58. Price 50 frs.

What may be regarded as the pioneer works on Negro Art have already appeared in various languages. The time is ripe for more precise survey and scientific indication of the lines of future research.

As a considered collector and a writer familiar with the documentary and museum sources, Mr. Carl Kjerfve might be regarded as admirably fitted to set out the field of enquiry. Whilst this is his stated intention, the second volume of this series of four pertaining to the survey of Negro Sculpture is less satisfying in its achievement in this respect than the first. Possibly the inspiration which served Mr. Kjerfve when dealing with peoples with whom he is particularly familiar, may not have responded so readily to the diverse elements of his second group. In the photography there is a similar lack of that fine subtlety in composition which served to enhance the quality of the specimens illustrated in the first volume.

It is conceivable that the method of presentation may account for the impression of sterility which the text conveys. The scheme is basically geographical, with brief notes as to situation, population and cultural features followed by analyses of the main traits of artistic expression. When this has been applied to a succession of tribes, the effect is one of literary monotony, at variance with the sensitive artistry of the general production of the book. Where one had hoped for a voyage imbued with adventure there is only a useful itinerary. There is none of the feeling of sensitive perception which, for example, infuses the style of Georges Hardy in *L'Art Nègre*.

Whilst it is exceedingly difficult to appraise the effectiveness of Mr. Kjerfve's contribution until the full complement of volumes is issued, there appears so far no sufficient indication of criterion or development of a desired exposition of Negro aesthetic. Certain phrases would seem to point to an evaluation based on European aesthetic standards. Even these are undefined but probably account for an emphasis on line and polished surface and an insufficient awareness of the vitality of some of the polychromatic values.

The section on the Mendi is successful in its account of the integration of artistry and the cult of the secret societies, whilst the art of the Yoruba seems to have encouraged more animated commentary. A section dealing with Benin is concise in its historical detail but appears to have overlooked Ling Roth's notable contribution, whilst for Ashanti there is little which has not been presented in a more satisfying way by Rattray.

The inadequacy of the textual references militates against the chances of the work becoming 'indispensable for future studies.' Furthermore, the use of the bibliography as a medium for the correction of the work of previous writers is unconventional and calculated to rouse a desire for more authentic indication of authority. Perhaps the quality of these studies is best conveyed by the wish that they had been more in the nature of expositions and less in the way of incompletely documented descriptions. It would help to mitigate these disadvantages if the concluding volume furnished a cohesive aesthetic, a map and an index. TREVOR THOMAS.

Centres de Style de la Sculpture Nègre Africaine.

116 Volume III, Belgian Congo. By Carl Kjerfve. Paris Editions, Albert Morancé, 1937. 52 pp., 56 plates. 60 francs.

As we become reconciled to M. Kjerfve's method

and style, the appearance of the phrase "Les centres de style s'y trouvent chez les..." at the head of each section is now greeted with a note of familiarity. Less satisfactory, but equally a part of the catalogue method of presentation, is the political framework of provinces, into which the cultural or tribal divisions fit with little ease. The author seems to have appreciated this difficulty, for accounts of certain styles have been postponed to the next volume or reference has been made to those which have already appeared. In a work which sets out to define "centres de style" it might have been more satisfactory if M. Kjersmeier had taken a firm line and abandoned any attempt at political location, whilst establishing his artistic centres on specifically cultural bases. It is perhaps for this reason that a sense of dissatisfaction is aroused, a feeling of lack of firmness or coherence in the exposition of the main thesis, which should be the work's justification. Thus, whilst there is more attempt in this volume at aesthetic evaluation, notably in the sections on the Baluba and the Bakuba or Bushongo, the general regional features, seen in the placing of the hands, the attention to styles of hairdressing, the elaborate use of tattooing, and the different treatment accorded to fetish and ancestor figures are indicated only in passing; it would have been invaluable to have devoted a section at the end to a comparative survey and synthesis of these traits.

Though M. Kjersmeier has been at great pains to differentiate Baluba, Bena Lulua and Bakuba (even to the extent of amending Torday and Hardy) there is for these three groups a basic quality in aesthetic conception which serves to unify them as a style centre. Contemplation of the author's own illustrations will show, for example, a more fundamental artistic difference between the two Baluba specimens (Figs. 4 and 9) designed for different functional purposes, than between the same Baluba ancestor figure and the Bakuba ancestor figure (No. 25). Incidentally the treatment of these ancestor figures in every case shows a magnificence of style and execution which places them amongst the finest things in Negro art; either, as M. Kjersmeier suggests, because the artist sought to arouse in the descendants the illustrious memory of the ancestor, or because these figures being more rarely executed as portraits and only by the finest artists, were conceived with more critical inspiration. There is a valuable summary of the facts available for a series of royal portraits from the Bakuba, which are among the very few African works which can be dated with any degree of certainty. One is inclined to demur to the classification of certain Bakongo figures as ancestor when they would appear to be best regarded as negro versions of the mother and child conception, produced in an area strongly influenced by Catholic missionary enterprise. Similarly, we should find that the varied outline of the nails augmented rather than detracted from the artistic quality of the Bakongo 'nail fetishes.' One wonders, too, if the figure described as "de composition cubique" (Fig. 41) when examined without prejudice would not be better accounted "sans grande valeur artistique."

Some of the most attractive carvings come from a group designated by Kjersmeier as Bena Lulua, showing a great sense of humour in the crouching figures and much fantasy in the tattooing, most comparable, as the author rightly suggests, with the surface treatment of Maori carvings. It is interesting to note that the most vigorous work comes from those peoples who have been warring conquerors, the Baluba and the Mangbetu, the latter producing particularly dominating forms and characteristically domed narrow heads. An interesting technical development, in response to material readily

available, is seen in the rare ivory masks from the Warega.

Written of an area so rich in material, this volume has many fine illustrations, equal in many respects to those given in the first volume. The bibliography is extensive and the notes copious, referring mostly to sources of other illustrations for tribes which the author has been content to list in a tantalizing manner at the end of his sections. There would have been much advantage in omitting those illustrations which, good as they are, have already been reproduced so often, in favour of others for these less known tribes. In this connection one has been led to examine rather closely the basis for M. Kjersmeier's designations of regions of style, and it may be as well therefore, to bear in mind when reading, that of the fifty-six illustrations, six are of well-known specimens from national collections, six are from presumably private collections, and the remainder are M. Kjersmeier's own.

There is to be a fourth volume, which it is hoped will draw together the irregular pattern of the first three, and lend more cohesion to the design of M. Kjersmeier's thesis.

TREVOR THOMAS.

Die Geheimbünde Westafrikas als Problem der Religionswissenschaft. By Dr. Eugen Hildebrand. Leipzig, 1937. 170 pp.

This dissertation on the Secret Societies of West Africa as a problem of comparative religion forms the first volume of a series on the science of religion sponsored by Dr. Lehmann, to accompany the ethnological 'Studies' by various authors published by Prof. Dr. O. Reche and Prof. Dr. H. Plachke.

Although primarily psychological, Dr. Hildebrand's research rests upon ethnological foundations, and this little book should be extremely useful to both missionaries and ethnographers.

After an introduction stating the religious scope of his work, and a discussion of the sources from which he draws his material, the author gives a general survey of the West African Secret Societies; their precarious connexion with puberty rites; their subjects, distribution, various ages, objects and activities. He then chooses three of the most important, the Poro, the Jehwe and the Sande, for detailed examination, and passes on to an analysis of some of the others with a definitely religious orientation. This comprises all those which contain the elements of Death; the Intermediate state; Rebirth; the 'new Adam' and his reactions to his own social order. The last part of the thesis contains a critical analysis of the theories of Frobenius, Hutton Webster, Schurtz, van Gennep and Hauer. And here it would seem that, although the author has tried to be strictly impartial, he has not altogether succeeded.

The work would have gained greatly in value if Dr. Hildebrand had come into personal contact with some of the societies he has examined so carefully; which makes one realize how much the co-operation of psychologists and ethnologists is needed in field-work. Although the religious side of the societies has been stressed, it is difficult to draw a line between the religious and the secular, among African tribes generally; and to decide where magic ends and religion begins. Also, sorcery and magic are often confused. The German word *Zauber* may seem to mean either. Dr. Hildebrand states:—"If a Society has as its object the combating of magic, so must it... itself possess a still stronger 'magic.' What generally happens in Africa is that 'white' magic is used to counteract 'black' magic, otherwise sorcery, and vice versa. The author ends by discussing the possible connexion of the Secret Societies

with the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Prototype; draws a general conclusion, and appends a very useful 'literature' of the subject. He does not seem to have had access to the latest researches of Dr. Jensen and M. Vergiat, which throw considerable light on the subject indirectly. Neither does he mention the late Mr. Torday, whose knowledge of Secret Societies in Africa was perhaps unequalled. A similar monograph is needed for the Eastern and Southern African tribes. Only when a complete survey has been attempted can psychology build on sure foundations. Meanwhile, Dr. Hildebrand's work is an extremely solid stepping-stone to future progress in this direction.

There are a few misprints, and on p. 146 a whole line is repeated twice, with omission of another and with disastrous result.

E. D. E.

Corporal Wanzi. By Frank Brownlee. London: Allen & Unwin. 8vo. 257 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

118 To readers looking back upon life in South Africa, and recalling to memory the men and women of the land with whom their work brought them into contact, this will be a pleasant book to have beside them. Mr. Brownlee is obviously doing just this thing himself. Pictures and personalities out of the past throng in his memory; the memory of one who has had all the experiences that fall to the lot of a District Magistrate in native areas. On him Africa and her people have made the kind of impression that is inevitable to the large-hearted and liberal-minded white-man.

There are twenty-eight stories in all, and of these eight centre around Corporal Wanzi and his little group of police. Every one of the twenty-eight throws light upon some corner of the African mind, though not all are equally successful in speaking through our English language the authentic thought-forms of the Bantu. To achieve this, of course, is the outstanding difficulty of the translator. The author in this case has obviously had the original African voices and vocabulary clearly in his memory, but a more formal English vocabulary has frequently obtruded itself, and made Africa speak with less of simple beauty and aptness than she might.

Yet, in the end, it is Africa speaking, even through this occasional handicap. Some of the tales are charming, some very enlightening. I liked best *Badeni and his Bank Note* and *The Little Brown Bird*. Others will appreciate what Africa has meant to them under some of the other titles. The book is for those who remember, perhaps, rather than for the general reader in search of high interest or thrill. But any man or woman about to go into Africa for the first time, and who will be in touch with village or rural life, may take this book up, with confidence, as an introduction to the Bantu mind.

CULLEN YOUNG.

The Savage Hits Back, or The White Man through Native Eyes. By Julius E. Lips. Introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski, Professor of Anthropology in the University of London. Translated by Vincent Benson. London: Lovat, Dickson, Ltd., 1937. 254 pp., 213 illustrations; bibliography.

119 This work is intended to be an impression of white men expressed by natives in plastic and decorative arts. In view of the author's experiences in his native land it is impossible to regard the light which he throws upon his subject as colourless. There is no evidence that the views and deductions arrived at are the results of practical experience of the problems of negro sociology and administration in any of the four continents. Unfortunately much of what is related in the historical summary is true, but no credit is given to European or American governments for their efforts to remedy past

mistakes. The present writer considers that negro art is not original but imitative in character. The ordinary native of Africa has a keen sense of humour and justice. As a general rule he resents fines and imprisonments and prefers corporal punishment. He leads as a rule a normal healthy animal life. For these reasons crude specimens of human figures cannot be regarded as caricatures, censures, or lewd. The numerous illustrations are obviously selected to prove the author's point of view and in this respect the primary title of the book is an unfortunate one. The statement (p. 48) in respect to the antiquity of the art of smelting ores by natives in Africa is open to question. The effects of centuries of Asiatic communication and settlements on the east coast of Africa from Cape Guardafui to the Limpopo River, combined with the cultural results of the great annual Moslem pilgrim journeys by millions of the inhabitants of two continents, appear to have been entirely overlooked by the author. The reader must therefore decide for himself how far the text is political in character and not what might be expected to be the considered and unbiased deductions of a practical field anthropologist in respect to a highly specialized subject.

A. E. R.

African Genesis. By Leo Frobenius and Douglas C. Fox, Faber and Faber. London, 1938. Price 12s. 6d.

120 Good reading though it is, and full of excellent material, this is a provoking and unsatisfying work, falling between two stools: prevented by its subject from making a really popular appeal and spoilt as a scientific contribution by trying to encompass it. Data appear to have been ruthlessly cut, which Professor Frobenius could presumably have supplied and which he may have supplied in the *Atlantis* series or in *Erythræa*. Also it is irritating not to know if the stories told are reasonably literal transcriptions, or free paraphrases to be 'read for entertainment,' as Mr. Fox suggests.

Within these limits it is an entrancing book. No lover of folk-lore and no lover of Africa can dispute it, and, though it could have been greater, its value for comparative study is undeniable. Also, despite missing data, some parts may prove to have historical value—and with the data certainly should have, e.g., light may be thrown on the origin of the Fulbe, which is still a matter of conjecture, while the elucidation of the influence of and connection with Egypt of peoples now remote from that country, may be assisted by these records. The present reviewer remembers his surprise at finding a perfect bas-relief of the sable antelope—habitat well south of the equator—at Abydos, cf. *The Field*, January 4, 1913.

The stories and myths from Algeria to Southern Rhodesia cover a wide field and link up in an extraordinary manner with each other and with the world beyond; so do the rock drawings with which this volume is so admirably illustrated. The details in the legends and fables are of particular interest and these are all recorded with a literary touch, which is what makes one fear departure from the original, as does the pointed moral in some of the fables, a feature which one who has himself collected such legends and fables has found to be generally lacking.

The illustrations are uniformly good and most valuable. The following struck me particularly: the rain maker (p. 41); the fight of bowmen (p. 120), which seems to be an early example of 'pin-men' drawing, and very lifelike too; and a remarkable turned-away head in the left hand figure on p. 263. The pictures of the bull and the ram in some pictures indicate the

Egyptian influence, which may be of an earlier age than the authors suggest. The little maps in the text are most helpful.

F. H. MELLAND.

Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa. By

121 Nathaniel Isaacs: edited by Louis Herman. Capetown: The Van Riebeck Society, 1936. 2 vols. xxviii + 292, 336 pp., maps and illustrations.

Nathaniel Isaacs began to publish his journals in 1832, and thereby instigated the movement for extending

British authority over Natal which led to its annexation in 1843. Isaacs himself had then left South Africa, and after wandering in Old Calabar and Sierra Leone was last seen by his relatives in 1858.

His writing is vivid, detailed and accurate, and is the only comprehensive account of King Chaka and his 'Zoolos' before they came under European influence.

The Van Riebeck Society has done well to re-publish this truly classical narrative, a substantial addition to a series already widely appreciated.

J. L. M.

RACIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

Rassen und Völkerkunde: Lebensprobleme der

122 Rassen, Gesellschaften, und Völker. By Wilhelm Mühlmann. Braunschweig (Vieweg), 1936. Pp. viii. 596: with 76 plates and 33 figures in text.

This volume, as the preface states, is written in response to the requirements of the new German State for a biological interpretation of social and ethnological matters, as adjustments between man and his environment, from the smallest human groups to the largest. Dr. Mühlmann begins with the biological aspects of natural selection among men, and goes on to the elements of settlement and intercourse. The environment is presented as a system of material selections and controls, whereby the 'great race' is established, and acquires its appropriate social organization and institutions; the problems of race-mixture receive separate consideration, and also those of racial degeneration.

Thus far the outlook on human advancement is geographical and biological, with an underlying philosophy which is in principle materialist and determinist. Naturally we look further for Dr. Mühlmann's treatment of psychological matters, both the study of individual minds and the transcendental constructions which are the subject-matter of "race-psychology." What is the nature, and source, of the "endowment" of races and persons, which makes civilization possible? An elementary problem is the wonderful manual skill of craftsmen, hunters, and others, "untrained" according to our notions, but completely master of their immediate tasks and materials. Dr. Mühlmann describes at length the recent investigations, of Porteus, Nieuwenhuis, and others.

What, next, is the nature and meaning of historical change, as it can be followed in outline through long prehistoric periods, such as those of Germanic antiquity? What worries Dr. Mühlmann is that, after all that has happened in the direction of establishing "pure" races with their appropriate cultures, mankind seems now to have reached the crisis of a new prospect of promiscuity. Physical obstacles are ceasing to obstruct; there are 'coloured perils' of various tints, and corresponding blots on the psychological escutcheon; the unifying influence (for example) of Islam in the recent past, and of Mahatma Gandhi in modern India; China and Japan offer other instances. Then follows an interesting chapter on the American Negro, and on contemporary developments in Negro Africa, Spanish America, and the 'Latin Races' generally, which, (it would seem) are on a slippery slope towards a deeper brunetness.

The way is now clear for Dr. Mühlmann to deal with the 'nordic race' and the modern German programme of 'race-hygiene.' The 'conception of race' stands in contradiction to the latin-mediterranean notion of proselytism: "it is impossible to Germanize or Anglicize" (p. 533-4)—for this let us be grateful, if we can. One must just be Germanic or Anglic; if possible, be born so before it is too late. The task of the 'nordic race' is then expounded in detail, pp. 539-542. If Germans

realize the conceptions of Race and Nationality (*Volkstum*) they may shoulder the 'white man's burden,' and 'imperial responsibility' along with the rest of their racial functions. And for this, they will need such acquaintance with biology, culture, and history, as Dr. Mühlmann offers in this book. It is always worth while to realize how other people look at these matters and that the English have still a chance of being 'white men,' *non Angli sed angeli*.

J. L. M.

A critical investigation of the blood groups and their medico-legal application. By Dr.

123 Dawood Matta. (Publication No. 11, Faculty of Medicine, Egyptian University). Cairo, 1937. 231 pp.

Dr. Matta, who is Lecturer in Forensic Medicine in Cairo University, and has made considerable investigations of human serology, propounds a new theory of the inheritance of the classical A and B blood-groups. The original theory of Hirsfeld assumed that the A and B genes were independent, i.e., in separate chromosome pairs. Bauer endeavoured to explain certain discrepancies by assuming that they were genetically linked and showed about 11 per cent. of crossing-over. Bernstein's theory, based mainly on statistics and now generally accepted, assumes that A, B and O are allelomorphs to each other. But while this theory is satisfactory in explaining statistically the blood-group frequencies in different populations, yet from the point of view of heredity there are a number of known exceptions. According to Bernstein's theory, when one or both parents belong to the A B blood group, none of the children can be O. But after allowing for cases of illegitimacy, there remain 0.95 per cent. exceptions against the father, and 1.08 per cent. exceptions against the mother.

Matta examined the blood-groups of 52 families with 168 children in Glasgow, and 99 families with 300 children in Cairo. He found certain exceptions, which could not be explained by Bernstein's theory, nor by illegitimacy. He puts forward a modified view which will explain such cases.

Briefly, he prepared an anti-O serum and finds nine different blood types, viz., O, A₁, A₂, B₁, B₂, A₁B₁, A₁B₂, A₂B₁, A₂B₂. Unlike Thomson, he regards A₁ and A₂ as differing only quantitatively. He further assumes that AB and O may each be represented four times. Thus an A individual might be AAAA, AAAO, AAOO, or AOOO, the first three giving a stronger reaction and corresponding to A₁, while AOOO corresponds to the weaker A₂ reaction; similarly for B. It is thus possible for an individual to have such a formula as ABBO, in which all three agglutinogens are present.

This hypothesis appears to explain the known inheritance of the blood-groups, and to account for the exceptions to Bernstein's hypothesis. Certain of its genetical consequences have not, however, been appreciated. If O is a third independent gene, and not merely the absence of A and B, it will not occur at the same locus

of a chromosome as *A* and *B*. Matta's diagrams on p. 128 do not correctly indicate what would happen in crossing-over, and he does not consider the possibility of mutations. He rightly emphasizes that the new hypothesis should not be applied medico-legally, until it has been more fully tested.

This work contains a good deal of other serological investigation, in relation to the *A* and *B* as well as the *M* and *N* blood groups. The future will determine whether the new theory is preferable to that of Bernstein. Its tetraploid implications will also require careful examination.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

Enquêtes Anthropologiques dans trois Villages Roumains des Carpathes. Faculté de Médecine de Bucarest. Travaux de l'Institut d'Anatomie et d'Embryologie, I. By Fr. I. Rainer. Bucarest: Imprimeria Centrala, 1937. 78 pp., 34 plates, 20 photographs. Price 400 lei.

This volume presents data relating to the physical characters of the inhabitants of three villages in different parts of Central Rumania. It is said to be complementary to 'la vaste enquête sociologique et aussi ethnographique sur le village roumain, entreprise par l'Institut Social Roumain,' of which the first results have been published. The records include blood groups

for nearly 2,200 people, measurements and descriptive observations for nearly 920, and standardized photographs of the head from three angles, those of 80 people being reproduced. The report is concerned almost exclusively with the presentation of the statistical and other data; this is perfectly adequate, diagrams being freely used. A few comparisons are made with constants, for 300 students at Bucarest, but otherwise the village groups are not compared with one another or with any other material. Further treatment in another volume is promised. An investigation of a few English villages as comprehensive as this one would be very welcome.

G. M. M.

Le Pithecanthrope était-il un Pygmée? Considérations sur la généalogie humaine, inspirées par les recherches récentes sur l'ancienneté et les caractères de certains hommes fossiles. By Paul Buyssens. Paris (Purnal), 1937. 48 pp.

The lack of agreement between authorities regarding the conclusions to be derived from a comparison of the most ancient skeletal remains of man with the modern species encouraged the writer of this pamphlet to advance the hypothesis that existing pygmy peoples represent a bond between the two groups. But his ingenious defence of this view is not convincing. G. M. M.

AMERICA.

Life in a Haitian Valley. By Melville J. Herskovits. New York: (A. A. Knopf), 1937. xvi + 350 + xix pp., 32 plates.

This book is an attempt to discount several recent journalistic distortions of 'vodun' (popularly known as 'voodoo'). The general plan is somewhat inverted. Instead of starting from a general description of Haitian life and 'vodun,' with an account of the gods or spirits, Herskovits begins with a circumscribed account of life in one small valley, and it is not until we have had many references to the gods that we get an account of them, partly in a later chapter and partly in an appendix. Had the account appeared sooner it would have facilitated the reader's comprehension of the earlier chapters. A more obvious plan would be to give a general account of the island life and beliefs followed by details for the valley of Mirebalais.

The photographic reproductions show poor grouping and are rather indistinct (partly due to their being 'stills' extracted from cinematographic films) and they are poorly reproduced with a hideous black margin like that of a funeral card. Moreover the significance of the illustrations is at times difficult to understand. Two photographic reproductions appear on the same page, one called 'Planting in Dahomey,' the other 'Planting in Haiti,' each showing several persons in a field. One cannot see what the persons are doing, or why Dahomey comes into the picture (resemblance or contrast?). There is a very indifferent index and there is a certain lack of proportion in the text, which is loaded with insignificant details (e.g., the list of only 55 references includes Seabrook's sensational book; prominence is given to an inscription cut on a tree by a marine in 1920 to record that someone was 'drunk as hell'; and we are seriously told that in childhood a naughty child is first scolded and, for a repetition of the offence, beaten with a small stick on the buttocks 'or thigh'). Other things we would like to know are left out. Much that is interesting (such as the detailed West African tribal origins of the Haitian negroes) is taken from previous writers, but the author gives first-hand accounts of 'vodun' dances, including the 'possession of devotees by their deities.' As

regards the spelling, the book is written in American. The word 'excoriate' on page 272 is presumably an error for 'excrete.' The style is sometimes somewhat abstract and obscure, e.g., "Might it (the craving for excitement) not represent a kind of compensation for the thwarted psychic ease with which a culturally misunderstood people approach their own existence?"

This book is also a study in 'acculturation'—a horrible phrase for the interaction of two different cultures—French and West African in this case. "Cultures do not entirely give way one before another, even where the one was carried by slaves and the other by masters; even though the one is separated from its source by thousands of miles and hundreds of years, and the other derives a continuous renewal of vitality from constant contact with its original home." Witness jazz! One is left to guess whether 'acculturation' means the analysis of the culture into its original components or whether it is a study of a 'mongrel' culture as an entity.

The sexual life of the children is interesting. "Boys of 6 and 7 surreptitiously 'experiment' with girls of their own age in the sex act, despite parental warnings. This ceases, however, as soon as the girls are nubile, for then they are under strict supervision." Six or seven is the age at which the civilized European child's sexual activities enter upon a latent period to re-awaken at the approach of puberty. "Though brothers and sisters sometimes continue to sleep together until the age of puberty, it is said that attempts at intercourse between them rarely occur, for, according to Haitians, the children gradually sense that this is regarded as bad, and a boy approaching puberty who wishes to satisfy his desire for sex play goes to find a 'little neighbour.' Later, when the nubile girls are withdrawn from the company of the boys, the latter play with younger girls who have not yet reached puberty, or carry on 'affairs' with those older than themselves; indeed it is from these latter that they obtain full knowledge of sexual procedure." The Haitians seem more civilized than Malinowski's Melanesians in that the parents forbid such sexual activities, which are carried on 'surreptitiously'; but in another respect (the

early separation of brother and sister) the Melanesians appear more civilized. A remarkable difference between Haitians and Melanesians is that in spite of sexual freedom there is plenty of homosexuality among the Haitians of both sexes. It is to be doubted whether reliance can be placed (in this subject) on the author and his wife who spent only 'a little more than three months' in Mirebalais, and part of this time was not used, if the author practised what he preaches,

i.e., did 'not attempt to probe the most secret phases of a culture during the initial period of his stay.'

The chief value of this book is the detailed description of 'vodun' religious services and dances, from which it appears that the religion is a very primitive form of spiritualism accompanied by the entrancing of mediums and complicated by plenty of mumbo-jumbo coloured by the grosser superstitions of the local Christianity.

CANNING SUFFERN.

NORTH AMERICA.

The Eskimo Archaeology of Julianehaab district with a brief Summary of the Prehistory of the Greenlanders. By *Therkel Mathiassen*, in collaboration with *Erik Holtved*. (Meddeleser om Grønland. Bd. 118. Nr. 1. Copenhagen, 1936. Large 8vo. 140 pp., 60 figs., 4 plates.)

This report was compiled from material collected by Mathiassen and others during the 1934 Expedition of the Commission for Scientific Research in Greenland.

The Julianehaab district is the most southerly on the West coast of Greenland. It is a high mountainous area, dissected deeply by fjords and the most fertile and thickly populated part of the whole country. Archaeologically it is doubly interesting, for it was mainly here that the old Norse settlements were concentrated; and Mathiassen has been able to trace some relations between them and the Eskimos.

The larger part of the report is taken up with the detailed description of the ruins examined (432 in all) and of the objects found in them.

Mathiassen recognizes four types of houses, each characteristic of a particular period of occupation, in this region. The earliest is small and rounded; sometimes two or three are built together with a common passage. Conditions for the preservation of objects in them are the worst possible, but sufficient have been recovered to show that the culture of the occupants was Inugsuk and directly connected with the earliest culture of Kangamiut (to the north of Julianehaab) and of Angmagssalik on the East coast. The later stages are, perhaps, a little more old fashioned. Among these objects, though, are some that can only be of Norse origin and also a glass head that must have come in with the whalers in the seventeenth century. Considered together, these indicate that this oldest type of house was in use from about 1350 to 1650. It is characteristic of them to be built, usually in clusters, half way up the fjords. Mathiassen suggests that this site was chosen because the Norse people were in occupation at the heads of the fjords and the coast itself was impossible for ice-hunting. It is doubtful if any Eskimo houses in this region antedate the Norse settlement.

The houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are distinctly rectangular with a high stone wall and a sunken passage—in most cases lying at right angles to the long axis of the house. Mathiassen recognizes a large and a small type. The culture associated with them is much the same as we find in the rest of West Greenland at this period; but it has an older stamp about it, particularly in its harpoon—and arrow-heads and its lamps. This is probably due to Julianehaab's culturally isolated position. At this time there was a large number of small settlements, no doubt the result of the improved kayak, and later a tendency to return to large settlements, attendant on the development of Danish colonization and trading posts.

The nineteenth-century type of house is still in use. It is small and rectangular, with high walls and a passage which is a prolongation of the long axis of the house. This passage is not sunken and usually has an angle, in which there may be an offshoot room. The

houses of this type are less numerous than formerly because the Eskimos have been gathering towards the shops and schools.

This work in the Julianehaab district completes the survey of the whole of the Greenland coast, with the exception of the Cape York region. (The exception is important because it is the only place in Greenland where a pure Thule culture has been exposed. It is good news that Erik Holtved has just started two years' work here.) Mathiassen's summary of the Eskimo archaeology of Greenland, then, comes very opportunely and usefully.

The chapter on the origin of Eskimo culture adds little to the discussion of Mathiassen and Birket Smith in 1930, except that the author is able to review more recent excavations in Alaska. These show an Eskimo culture older than any yet found, and Mathiassen sees in them additional support to his view that the roots of the Eskimos were more likely in the Old World than in the New.

There is an appendix on "Bones from Julianehaab District" by Magnus Degerbol.

The maps are from surveys by Holtved. Among them are: Habitations in the Julianehaab district, Tugtutup and surroundings (ca. 1: 5900), the village site of Igdlutalik (1: 1250), and the village site of Unartoq (1: 5900).

This report reads rather as Mathiassen's swan song to Greenland field archaeology, and we cannot help recalling at such a time the very great contribution he has made to this subject during the last decade. He could not fail to develop a very considerable clinical sense in the course of his extensive field-work, but the important thing is that he has harnessed it to his museum work, with the result that much of it has been rationalized and is passed on as systematic archaeology. But the more immediate result is that we have been presented with a reasoned view of the former Eskimo cultures of the whole of post-Thule Greenland.

IAN COX.

Civilization of the American Indian. Vol. XI. Pratt, the Red Man's Moses. By *Elaine Goodale Eastman*. 1935. \$3.00.

Vol. XIII: Civilization. As told to *Florence Drake* by *Thomas Wildcat Alford*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. \$2.50.

Mrs. Eastman's biography of General Pratt (b. 1840, d. 1924), popular in style and well documented, is likely to forward the policy of which Pratt was the protagonist: that of assimilation and 'amalgamation,' not segregation, with full citizenship instead of wardship for the Indian, as the goal of Indian administration in the United States. Pratt claimed 'biological equality' for the Red Man, and asserted that 'civilization is a habit.' The North American tribes, he believed, had no future as such, and the only solution was to qualify the individual Indian to assume the full responsibility of citizenship. In direct educational work on these lines, among Indian prisoners and hostages (1875-1878), at Hampton Institute (1878) and at the Carlisle Indian School of his own creation (1879-1904), as well as in the

fight for educational appropriations, against the Reservation system, against "those who make a living out of their questionable care of the Indians and their coadjutors the ethnologists," Pratt showed himself a great man and a great fighter; and it must be owned that every work for which he was personally responsible justified itself by results. But it would have needed a hundred Pratts to make the U.S. Indian Boarding School system other than a costly and cruel error.

It is at first sight surprising that American ethnologists have played such an inconspicuous part in guiding the policy of Indian administration. Miss Fletcher's work for the Omaha is a brilliant and early exception. The historical and almost antiquarian standpoint of much American ethnological work is partly responsible. But the chief cause has been and is, not a want of ethnologists qualified to advise on questions of culture contact, but the want of an educated and trainable civil service personnel to take their advice.

(2) Mr. Thomas Wilceat Alford is a Shawnee Indian, born in 1860, educated at Hampton, married to a white American, and with a long experience as an employee in the Indian Service. The object of his book is to show what contributions of character and tradition the Indian can make to American civilization. "Contrary to the general impression," he writes, "the Indian race is not 'dying out.' At least the Shawnees are 'not.' They are just gradually losing their identity." B. A.

I should like to make a correction on the subject of 'Long Lance,' reviewed by me in MAN, 1936, 220. I learn from Mrs. Eastman's book that Buffalo Child Long Lance, the author, was not an Indian but a negro-Croat half-breed, adopted, after the War, into the Blackfoot tribe, and his memoirs, as far as they refer to his boyhood and youth, are fictitious. B. A.

Nueva crónica y buen gobierno de Felipe guaman poma de ayala. (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie—XXIII.*) Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1936. 8vo. xxviii + 1179 pp.

This is a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript in Spanish in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, with a French translation of R. Pietschmann's preface which gives a very useful summary of the contents and some illuminating comments on its author and his claims to rank. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the manuscript is the quantity of illustrations, nearly one to every page. It begins with the creation, and after a sketch of the intervening ages which shows a mixture of Christian and native ideas, proceeds to give a brief chronicle of the Incas and their consorts, then the laws and the classification of the people according to age in this remarkable socialistic state. The pictures in this section are particularly interesting, giving the work of each age-class of both sexes. Then follow the calendar, a section on sacrificial and mortuary rituals, one on punishments (a subject in which the author revels), and an account of various festivals, palaces and officials. One of the latter, the Accountant General and Treasurer, has a *quipu*, and beside him is evidently an abacus. The accompanying text says that they "cuentan en tablas," which must refer to the abacus. It also refers to the counting of time, and it is typical of the Spanish-Indian character of the manuscript that it speaks of reckoning 'Sundays,' months and years. This is followed by an account of the Spanish conquest, with a quaint picture of the conquerors in their ship, the post-conquest revolts, and the terrible cruelties practised on the natives and on the negro slaves. Here, again, the author delights in representing these horrors.

Then follow an enumeration of various towns and a second account of the calendar.

The illustrations are, as Pietschmann shows, entirely Spanish in style and show much artistic power.

It is interesting to compare this work of a Christian Peruvian Indian with the Christianized Aztec manuscript of Sahagun, and with Chimalpahin. Like Chimalpahin it has a more or less Biblical commencement, and like Sahagun it gives a general survey of native history and culture. But the Aztecs had an abundance of hieroglyphic manuscripts and an accurate calendar, so that Sahagun could give truly native drawings of the gods and festivals, and the chronology was established with reasonable certainty, while the Incas had no picture writing whatever, and though chronological counts were kept by the *quipu*, these have not survived, and in any case, however perfect the dead reckoning of years by the *quipu* may have been, it lacked the control afforded by the Aztec calendar round. One sees the result in the amazing longevity of the rulers and others in this manuscript.

The work is excellently reproduced and is a most valuable piece of source material for the Inca culture.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

Handbook of Latin American Studies. Edited by Lewis Hanke. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press (Oxford University Press), 1937. Price 17s.

This is the second annual volume of an annotated bibliography of the literature of Central and South America, and covers material, books and papers published in 1936.

Compiled by a number of distinguished American scholars in Latin-American studies, and published by the Harvard University Press with the aid of a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, this volume includes bibliographies of Anthropology, Ethnology, Art, Economics, Folklore, Geography, History, Government, Law and Literature. In addition there are a number of special articles, including a bibliography of the anthropology of Brazil, a guide to the music of the Caribbean area, and to the national archives of Latin-America. Each bibliography has an introductory preface, and in this connexion anthropologists will find the brief accounts of expeditions, which precede the anthropological sections, of great interest. The bibliographical material has, despite some omissions, been selected with great care and thoroughness, and its value has been much enhanced by frequent annotation of the entries. These annotations have been so well done that the compilers should be congratulated on the ability they have shown in this direction.

It is to be hoped that future volumes in this series will be forthcoming so as to form a permanent record of literary achievement in this interesting field of research.

L. J. P. G.

Origin of the Tainan Culture, West Indies. By Sven Loven. Gothenburg, 1935. 697 pp., 19 plates, 1 map.

This is an admirable piece of work, and probably gives all that can now be known of the culture of these extinct Arawaks of the West Indies. As is natural when dealing with an extinct people, the archaeological material is the most extensive, but no source of information has been neglected by the author, and the fullest use is made of the Spanish sources. It is apparent that there were several immigrations into the West Indies, and several fairly distinct regional divisions of the general Tainan culture complex. Also it is noteworthy that there was a primitive food collecting

race, distinct from the Tainos, still surviving in western Cuba at the time of the conquest, and that remnants of it were traditionally said to have survived until the nineteenth century. But the general culture of the West Indies was distinctly Tainan except in the islands occupied by the Caribs. This Tainan culture is carefully distinguished by the author from that of the Arawak of South America. The general result of his work is that the Tainan culture was somewhat higher than that of the continental Arawak, but related to it, and was distinctly South American in character, showing, strangely enough, considerable influences from distant Colombia. There was also some North American influence from Florida, but it was less important than that from the south. The author also finds traces of influence from Mexico and Yucatan, though much less than that of the cultures already mentioned. The reviewer is unable to agree that the influence of Mexico and Yucatan was even as much as the author says. On the whole the West Indian cultures seem remarkably free from any influence of the high cultured races of Central America and Mexico and the evidence of communication with them is scanty. At the same time the masks attached to girdles of chiefs and some features of the ball game were no doubt of Maya-Mexican origin, as was the more aristocratic framework of society as compared with the continental Arawak.

The book is well illustrated, and the only adverse criticism that occurs to one is that there is no index, but only a table of contents. RICHARD C. E. LONG.

Rediscovering Illinois: Archaeological Explorations in and around Fulton County. By Fay-Cooper

132 Cole and Thorne Deuel, United States; University of Chicago Press. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1937. 295 pp., 37 text illustrations and 31 plates. Price 9s. net.

This work combines an account suitable for the general reader and a technical report of field work carried out by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in the seasons 1930-32. The fact that it has a dual purpose does not detract from the interest of the book, which is very readable throughout, though many of the problems discussed are only of regional interest. The sites excavated are mounds built at several different periods and believed to extend down to the seventeenth or eighteenth century; no objects demonstrating contact with Europeans were found. The artifacts make it possible to distinguish six cultural divisions. In one of the appendices G. K. Neumann gives a preliminary report on the human crania discovered. The series of undeformed specimens is one of the longest available for any group of North American Indians. G. M. M.

Social Anthropology of North American Tribes.

133 Edited by Fred Eggan. Chicago Univ., 1937: Publications in Anthropology, xii + 456 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

This is a collection of essays presented to Professor Radcliffe-Brown on the occasion of his accepting the chair of social anthropology at Oxford University. The essays are written by seven of his students at Chicago University, and are particularly interesting as being representative samples of the type of research that Professor Radcliffe-Brown has initiated in America.

The first two essays, by Sol Tax and by Fred Eggan, are concerned with the problems that emerge from the employment by contiguous tribes of differing kinship systems. The kinship terminologies and behaviour patterns are analyzed, and theories are put forward to account for their differences and similarities.

The next four essays, by Gilbert McAllister, Morris Opler, Sol Tax and William Gilbert, jr., are concise and explicit descriptions of the social organization of the Kiowa-Apache, Chiricahua-Apache, Fox, and Cherokee Indians respectively. The aim of these essays is rather to give a picture of native society in its untouched state, than to describe the present-day life in the reserves. Cultural phenomena due to white influence are not dealt with, but some indication is given of the extent to which the original social organization still survives. The writers have used both their own field-notes and material from the published works of others.

The seventh essay, by John Provinse, is an attempt to apply to the Plains Indian culture Professor Radcliffe-Brown's suggested categories for the classification of the underlying sanctions of social control. The available material has been well handled, and the reader will agree with Mr. Provinse that "the fitting of the social control material into the proposed categories does irreparable damage to the functional picture of society," but that "as pedagogic devices for the introduction of students into the subtleties of social control they [the categories] have unusual merits."

The last essay, "The place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community in the Klamath Reserve," by Phileo Nash, illustrates the thesis that "nativistic cults arise among deprived groups." Deprivation has occurred among the Klamath, Modoc and Paviot groups of the reserve, as a result both of resistance to white culture and acceptance of it. In the latter case it is due to the discrepancy between the new values created and the means provided for their attainment. The writer shows that the various revivalist cults must be looked on as 'the movements to restore the original value pattern, which they do by the construction of a fantasy situation.'

C. MARGERY LAWRENCE.

GENERAL.

Cumæan Gates: A Reference of the Sixth Æneid to Initiation Pattern. By W. F. J. Knight.

134 Oxford, 1937. xv + 190 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

Mr. Knight's book, from the hand of one brought up in classical tradition, who nevertheless has vision, is a welcome addition to our knowledge of culture contact from an unexpected angle. Its sub-title is 'A reference of the Sixth Æneid to Initiation Pattern,' and readers not familiar with the great strides made in the study of the history of ritual and belief may be surprised to hear that the work rests on the elucidation of a hitherto unexplained passage in the beginning of the Sixth Æneid (and through this on a new interpretation of the whole poem) built up on evidence derived from Malekula.

Briefly, the history of this finding is as follows:—Three years ago, in 1934, the writer of this review pub-

lished (in 'Essays presented to C. G. Seligman') a short comparative account of the 'Journey of the Dead from the Small Islands off the north-eastern coast of Malekula,' known for its highly-developed megalithic culture. From internal evidence, two levels of megalithic culture were discerned, a short early one, in which the dead find their home in or beyond a cave, and a longer, later version, in which, after passing through the cave and experiencing a number of adventures, they find their final resting-place in a volcano. Although the isolationist school of anthropologists continue to dispute the clear facts of sea-borne megalithic migration, other scholars do not, and in the same year Professor Hooke published in Folk-Lore (September, 1934) an article on 'Some parallels with the Gilgamesh Epic' in which he pointed out the detailed resemblance between the longest

and latest of the three Malekulan versions with the Journey of Gilgamesh in search of the dead, a resemblance so close that it can only be explained by culture-contact. Still in the same year, as the result of an examination of Deacon's version of the earlier story, and of the geometric sand-tracings connected with it, the writer of this review read to the Royal Anthropological Institute a paper in which he showed how this earlier version incorporated beliefs and practices based on the mythology of the labyrinth, an originally mortuary mythology (later connected with fertility) known to us hitherto only from Egyptian and Cretan sources. This evidence was published in an article on 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula,' in Folk-Lore (June, 1936, to be followed shortly by a further contribution on the ritual and mythology of the labyrinth in Southern India). Knowledge of the Near-eastern beliefs and practices were derived from Mrs. C. N. Deedes illuminating work on 'The Labyrinth' (London, 1935). Meanwhile, as long ago as 1932, a German, Hermann Güntert, had published in Heidelberg a scholarly work showing, on philological grounds, the spread of the labyrinth idea among the megalithic pre-Indo-germanic speaking peoples of the Mediterranean.

It is here that Mr. Knight's evidence comes in. Mr. Knight has long been known as the champion of Vergil (this is the way he spells the name), as the interpreter, in his poems, of the folk-lore of pre-Roman Italy. He has also for some years, in such works as 'Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game' (Antiquity, Vol. VI), studied the labyrinth. But he did not know its mortuary significance. Now, in all the Malekulan versions belonging to the earlier cultural level, the cave is guarded by a female Guardian Ghost, who, in the south-western variant, presides over a half-rubbed-out labyrinth design, which the ghost of the dead man must complete and walk through before entering the cave, and, through it, the land of the dead. The labyrinth is thus, in Malekula as in Egypt, no more than the baffling and complicated entrance to the cave which is at once tomb and womb (see the reviewer's forthcoming work 'Stone Men of Malekula') and the gate into the land of the dead. Cave, female Guardian Ghost and labyrinth thus form together a single unit guarding the land of the

dead. The same combination of Sibyl (corresponding to the female Guardian Ghost) and cave is met with in most classical descents into the nether world. Now, in beginning of the Sixth Æneid there is a passage which all critics have said to be entirely beside the point and holding up in the most irrelevant manner the narrative of Aeneas's descent into Hades to meet Anchises and all the other noble dead. This passage describes, over the Sibyl's cave at Cumæ, through which he makes his descent, a picture of the Cretan labyrinth and a description of what happened in it. The Malekulan evidence confounds the critics, and shows what this digression really meant, that is to say, that to the Italian folk-mind it immediately conveyed the precise impression that Vergil sought, namely, that here was in truth the entrance to the nether world. Not only does it confound the critics, but also the isolationist school of anthropologists, for here—and this is but the barest outline of the story, and one only of the many detailed resemblances—is Vergil, interpreting the pre-Roman megalithic culture of Italy, recounting almost detail for detail the same story as is still told in megalithic Malekula. Nor does the tale end here. Mr. Knight goes on to show that the whole story of the descent into Hades in the Sixth Æneid is an initiation rite. Even the golden bough has new light shed on it from Malekula.

From this beginning, Mr. Knight traces comparison with many other classical examples of the ancient initiation rite. The chapter-headings indicate his method. They are: Wala (the Malekulan island from which one of the reviewer's versions comes), Ogygia, Eleusis, Abydos, Truia, Troie-Ilios, Tirani, Knossos and Cumæ. It is not probable that any reader will, any more than the reviewer, hold with all Mr. Knight's conclusions in so new a subject. There are mistakes such as 'the Anaiteum' for 'Aneityum.' Imagination, too, sometimes outruns erudition, as when he says that a labyrinthine mandala reproduced from 'The Secret of the Golden Flower' was drawn by a lunatic, which was far from the case. But whatever faults of this nature there may be, and in spite of a certain overburdening of words, this work is a welcome sign of the times, and well worth reading by those interested, not only in what men do, but also in why they come to do it. JOHN LAYARD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Ritual Killings, Ainu and Finnish. (Cf. MAN, 1937, 181).

135 STR.—The ritual killing and eating of the bear after suitable apologies by the Ainu (see MAN, 1937, 181) are paralleled by the story of Väinämöinen and the bear in Runo XLVI of Kalevala, the national epic of Finland. Before setting out for the chase, Väinämöinen sings the usual charms, addressing the bear as 'Otso, apple of the forest' and 'O my Otso, O my 'darling.' I know nothing of the relation of Finnish to the Aryan languages but point out the suspicious resemblance between Otso and *orso*, *ursus*, = 'bear'. Väinämöinen, slew the bear, thanked Jumala (God), and apologised (in its obsolete sense) to the bear:

O my Otso, O my darling,
Fair one with the paws of honey,
Be not filled with causeless anger.
I myself have not o'erthrown thee;
Thou thyself hast left the forest,
Wandered from thy pine-tree covert;
Thou hast torn away thy clothing,
Ripped thy grey cloak in the thicket.
Slippery is this autumn weather,
Cloudy are the days and misty.

Then Väinämöinen begs the bear to depart with him and

promises him good treatment and pleasant food and drink.

Then the aged Väinämöinen,
He the great primeval minstrel,
Walked the plains, loud-playing,
O'er the heath he wandered singing,
And he brought the noble stranger,
With his shaggy friend he wandered.

It is very tempting to connect this episode with the much later bear-leading of central Europe.

As Väinämöinen reached inhabited parts, he sang:

What I bring is not an otter,
Not a lynx and not an otter;
One more famous is approaching,
Comes the pride of all the forest,
Comes an old man wandering hither,
With his overcoat he cometh.

The people welcomed the bear with joy, saying:

This I wished for all my life-time,
All my youth I waited for it . . .
And I pondered every morning.
In my head reflected daily,
'Wherefore is the Bear delaying?
Why delays the forest's darling?'

The bear-hunter asked if he should conduct his bear to the barn, but the people said he was to be brought into the house to a feast. Although the bear is dead, he

is addressed as if he were still alive. Väinämöinen proceeded to skin the bear and apologized thus:

Be not grieved for this O Otso,
Neither let it make thee angry,
That we take thy hide an hour,
And thy hair to gaze on always;
For thy hide will not be injured,
And thy hair will not be dragged.

The bearskin was stripped off, the flesh put into kettles and stewed, and a great feast followed, in the course of which was related the miraculous birth of Otso 'near the moon, in gleams of sunshine, and upon 'the Great Bear's shoulders,' and his equally miraculous provision with claws and teeth. The people asked Väinämöinen if he had killed the bear, but the hero still kept up the pretence that he had not.

With the spear I smote not Otso,
And I shot no arrows at him.
He himself lurched from the archway,
Tumbled from the pine-tree's summit,
And the branches broke his breastbone,
Others ripped his belly open.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Ainu, although they hunt the bear by spear, knife, poisoned arrow, and trap, kill the ritual bear by crushing it with a tree-trunk.

Some kind of ritual eating seems to have taken place with Väinämöinen, who addressed the bear thus:

O my Otso, O my dearest,
O my birdling, O my darling,
Now resign to us thy headland,
Lay aside thine eye-teeth likewise,
Cast away the few teeth left thee,
And thy wide jaws give us also:
Yet thou needest not be angry
That I come to thee in thiswise
And thy bones and skull have broken
And have dashed thy teeth together.
Now I take the nose of Otso,
That my own nose may be lengthened,
But I take it not completely,
And I do not take it only.

And so on, using the same phrases, for the ears, forehead, mouth, and tongue. Then he pulled the teeth out of the jaws and buried the remains of the bear in a pine-tree, too low to be blown down and too high to be disturbed by pigs. The Runo ends with a prayer to Jumala

That once more we meet rejoicing
And may once again assemble
Here to feast on bear so fattened,
Feasting on the slaggish creature.

The English translation is that of W. F. Kirby, F.L.S. F.E.S., published in Dent's Everyman's Library.

CANNING SUFFERN.

Survivals in Modern Egypt.

136 SIR.—In the Egyptian Delta, a good many years ago, I came across a custom of some interest, which I think has not been recorded, and may be rare. I did not hear of it again, but that is perhaps due to the circumstance that it takes place at early dawn and attracts little attention.

At the conclusion of Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting, the 'Little Feast' is celebrated and is the occasion of much holiday-making. Very early in the morning some lads of a provincial town formed a kind of irregular procession, rather like that of followers in a funeral, known as the 'Toucheesh of Ramadan.' The actors, as they walk along, lament the departure of the holy month, with such cries as "Farewell, blessed Ramadan; we shall miss you (hence the colloquial term *toucheesh*); come back another year." The procession is quite uncontrolled and is likely to take a rowdy turn, something like the present-day celebrations of Hallow-e'en

by prankish youths in America, pretending to impersonate ghosts who were once believed to return on that evening to their old haunts and were reputed to be usually of a mischievous disposition.

The *Toucheesh* seems to be a remote and much degenerated descendant of the popular celebrations accompanying the yearly return of Osiris, after his temporary resuscitation, to his dark abode, of which I wrote at the end of my first article on 'Osiris and his Rites' in MAN, 1937, 186.

Readers of Miss Blackman's book on the Fellahin of Upper Egypt will recall survivals noted there and others could doubtless be discovered; for example at Tanta, the chief town of the Delta, an important feature of the great public rejoicings on the birthday festival of the patron-saint of the town is the 'Procession of the Bull,' reminding one of the ancient worship of the Osirian bull Apis. This animal was held by the ancient Egyptians to be of the greatest consequence for their prosperity, and their belief survived strongly, despite Christianity into at least the latter part of the fourth century A.D. (Ammianus Marcellus, XXII, xiv, 16). Reference may also be made to the strange custom, suppressed for many years, that used to scandalize onlookers at the Mulid el Far, Cairo, recorded in MAN, 1927, 97, and lately discussed by Dr. Alan Gardiner in *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, I, p. 22, and n. 2.

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

Blood Pressure of the Noluas of Bengal.

137 SIR.—The Noluas of Bengal form a socially compact group scattered over four districts (Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, and Nadia) of Bengal, manufacturing mats from reeds. Their total numerical strength is 1,704, 884 males and 820 females. From the somatometric and somatoscopic points of view I have found that they are a short-statured, mesocephalic, mesorrhine, wavy-haired and dark-brown-complexioned people.

I examined the arterial blood-pressure of a number of Noluas during rest. My leading idea was to find out the average normal blood-pressure of the Noluas. The Hill-Barnard Sphygmomanometer was used in examining the blood-pressure and the pressure-band was applied to the left upper arm of the subject. Experiments were done on 200 individuals, age varying from 22 to 30. All were adult males.

The average blood-pressures (both systolic and diastolic) are arranged, according to age, in the following table:—

Age	No. of cases.	Systolic pressure in mmHg.	Diastolic pressure in mmHg.
22	20	85	45
23	15	95	60
24	20	90	50
25	25	110	70
26	26	85	50
27	24	90	50
28	22	115	75
29	27	105	70
30	21	95	55

Thus the average systolic pressure of 200 Noluas is 96.6 mmHg., and diastolic pressure 58.3. The average systolic pressure lies between 85 and 115 mmHg., while the diastolic pressure lies from 45 to 70 mmHg.

McDougall has shown that in the brachial artery of the Murray-men the average blood pressure during rest is equal to 98 mmHg. *Variations in blood pressures*, Anth. Exp. to Torres Straits, II, ii (1903), p. 202. Department of Anthropology, MINENDRANATH BASU, University of Calcutta.

The Stone-Age in Uganda: 'M or N'? (Cf. MAN, 1938, 60, 61.)

138 SIR,—I have no doubt that both Dr. Leakey and Mr. Wayland (MAN, 1938, 60, 61) are correct in their statements concerning the M horizon of Nsongezi. As far as I am aware, there was no serious attempt made to subdivide that horizon until the implements from it had been pretty thoroughly studied, when it appeared that the correspondence between 'état physique' and cultural development justified this course.

When I was at Nsongezi I never actually saw any section which would justify a subdivision of the M horizon—but some of Mr. O'Brien's excavations had by then been filled in, and it is clear from reference to his notes that such a subdivision was justified—as Mr. Wayland has indeed confirmed.

The N horizon is perfectly distinct, contains Levallois flakes and is separated from the M horizon by some thickness of sands as well as other deposits. It may well be, as Mr. Wayland suggests, of Gamblian age. But I do not see why I, who named it, should rechristen it, on account of its subsequent confusion with some upper portion of the M horizon, of the existence of which I was unaware, and with which it cannot seriously be confused.

In conclusion, I trust that the implements studied by Dr. Leakey were all from Nsongezi, as I cannot see the justification for Mr. Wayland's assumption of an M horizon age for rubbles elsewhere in Uganda; and I would regard inferences divided from implements obtained from them as likely to be misleading.

J. D. SOLOMON.

The Anatolian Ox-cart.

139 SIR,—The photograph herewith was taken by Professor V. Gordon Childe on the high road near Ankara, as we were on the way to see the prehistoric settlement of Ahlatlibel. The wheels consist of thick planks, pegged together, and fixed by other pegs (*muylu* in Turkish) to the ends of the axle, which are square in section, to fit the holes in the wheel.



AN ANATOLIAN OX-CART.

Photographed near Ankara by Professor V. Gordon Childe: September, 1937.

There is a narrow iron tyre, but the wear-and-tear of rough roads and ploughland has bevelled the edges of the wheels. There are also narrow iron bands secured with nails, to prevent the wheel from working loose on the axle. With these exceptions, the wheels and the cart are of wood.

The axle revolves between pairs of stout pegs driven

into the under side of the frame so that the body of the cart may be lifted easily off the wheels. The wood of which the axle is made is called *isan* in Turkish. It becomes polished in friction and takes a pale yellowish colour. There was no trace of lubricant.

The body of the cart tapers from back to front, so that the longitudinal beams of the frame form the pole, to which the oxen are attached by the yoke. There are cross-pieces but no 'superstructure, except four poles, forked above, and fitted into holes in the long frame-pieces. These keep in place the loose side-boards seen in the photograph; and on other carts of this kind we saw broad hangings of coarse black goat's-hair fabric, slung from the forked poles, and forming an open bag which rested on the frame and carried grain or sacks of produce. We saw many such carts bringing grain to the wayside stations on the railway between Ankara and Eskişehir. JOHN L. MYRES.

Fact and Superstition. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 99.)

140 SIR,—Social anthropology is not yet a science, and will not become so until anthropologists follow the example of all real scientists, and try to reduce to law and order the phenomena which are the subject of their studies. We shall get no farther so long as people are content to believe, as Prof. Hutton apparently believes, that popular ideas are a haphazard mixture of sense and nonsense, or, as Mr. Myres apparently believes, that traditional narratives are a haphazard mixture of fact and fiction.

I have already put forward, at some length, the theory that traditional narratives never contain historical facts, and this theory has not been seriously challenged. I am prepared to put forward, though with less confidence, the theory that popular ideas and superstitions are, as a general rule, not based on faulty observation. I say "as a general rule" because a study of Ackerman's *Popular Fallacies* suggests one class of exceptions, namely where the phenomenon and its apparent explanation are presented simultaneously. I leave it to Prof. Hutton to suggest others. Miss Durham's interesting letter does not suggest why particular springs are irrationally supposed to cure particular diseases.

And now to Hengist. I should have added the words "in the quasi-historical literature." His name occurs, of course, in the patently fictitious pedigrees of the Saxon kings, and a Hengist, apparently a king of the giants, appears in the miracle poem, *Beowulf*. I do not see the point of Mr. Myres' last remark.

RAGLAN

[This correspondence must now cease.—Ed.]

A Carved Pipe-stem from British Columbia.

(Cf. MAN, 1937, 199.)

141 SIR,—The reptile carved on this pipe-stem (fig. 3) is identified as a salamander by Mr. T. P. O. Menzies, curator of the City Museum, Vancouver, B.C., who writes to me (30 Dec., 1937) that "it resembled *Amblystoma jeffersonianum* (T. E. B. Pope and W. E. Dickinson, *The Amphibians and Reptiles of Wisconsin*, Bull. City of Milwaukee Publ. Mus. (3 April, 1928), p. 104, Pl. 4, fig. 5-6. If it had been a lizard, I feel sure that the scales would have been shown in different arrangement. This salamander is a slaty-black reptile, about the size of that on the pipe, which we find here [Vancouver, B.C.] in dark, dank places, such as under the floor boards of old decayed shacks."

The name of the property on which the carved pipe was found is Hanthorpe Ranch, not Kelowna as in MAN, 1937, 199. M. P. WILLIAMS.



1



2



3



4



5



6

SKULLS FROM THE NORTH COAST (1-4) AND WEST COAST (5-6) OF TASMANIA
PROBABLY OF INDIVIDUALS OF MIXED TASMANIAN-AUSTRALIAN DESCENT

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Tasmania

With Plate H.

Wunderly

THE WEST COAST TRIBE OF TASMANIAN ABORIGINES. *By J. Wunderly, Melbourne.*

142 There is abundant evidence in official documents and reliable histories and narratives of the fact that mating occurred between Tasmanians, on the one hand, and Europeans, Australians, Chinese, etc., on the other. As soon as seventeen years after the commencement of the European settlement of Tasmania in 1803, Australian aborigines were officially transported from the mainland to the island, according to West¹² and others. Both during and also prior to this settlement, sealers and whalers carried Australians and individuals of other races to Tasmania, with whom the Tasmanians are known to have mated.

The earlier observers of the natives found that four main groups or major tribes could be recognized among the Tasmanian aborigines, viz. the Oyster Bay, the Big River, the Stony Creek, and the Western Tribe. Many writers have stated that the Western Tribe inhabited an area including the west coast regions and extending along the north coast as far as Deloraine. It is remarkable that in the published accounts of observers and writers the exceptions to the general descriptions are almost invariably associated with the regions of the west coast. The nature of the chief physical and cultural differences between the West Coast Tribe (Western Tribe), and the other principal tribes is, therefore, worth noting.

Records left by the observers of the living natives are in almost unanimous agreement that the aborigines were of medium stature in all parts of the island except the west coast regions. According to Turner¹¹ the mean height of the Tasmanian males was 5 feet 3½ inches and of the females 4 feet 11¼ inches. The consistent references to the great height of the west coast natives are, therefore, of importance.

Captain James Kelly⁴ with a crew of four circumnavigated Tasmania in 1815, and made the first recorded discovery of Port Davey, Macquarie Harbour, and the northern half of the west coast. In an interesting and informative account of his voyage, he tells of his meeting natives who were very tall. Not far from Port Davey, at the southern end of the west coast, he observed two aborigines who were over six feet tall, and who had very thin arms and legs. At Macquarie Harbour, which is situated at about the middle of the west coast, he saw six natives who were over six feet in height. On one of the Hunter Islands, at the northern end of this coast, he encountered about fifty natives, one of whom was about six feet high, and another about six feet seven inches. The latter individual evidently fainted owing to fright following a pistol-shot fired by Kelly, and he was actually handled by Kelly and some members of his crew, who helped him to rejoin his tribe. Kelly came into close contact with several others of these tall men, because food was handed to them, and therefore he had an excellent chance to estimate the height of each at close range.

Kelly's reference to these tall natives on the west coast having very long and thin arms and legs is also important, because the Tasmanians generally are known to have had 'lean, rounded and muscular limbs'.

It is also noteworthy that the only hostile natives encountered during the voyage were those on the west coast, and that these men displayed great dexterity in throwing stones as well as spears. Practically all accounts contain references to the hostility exhibited by the West Coast Tribe, in contrast to the natural docile characteristics of the Tasmanians generally.

Ling Roth⁹ reports that, in giving evidence before the Aboriginal Committee, Kelly stated that the west coast natives were physically and culturally superior to those of the tribes inhabiting other parts of the island, with whom they had no intercourse. He also states that Robinson observed some of these natives to be six feet in height. One, who was killed in 1819, measured 6 feet 2 inches.

G. A. Robinson, reported by Ling Roth, stated that there were four minor tribes on the west coast comprising one hundred individuals, and that they were strong and fierce. There are many references which confirm the observations of Kelly and Robinson. West¹² refers to a chief of the West Coast Tribe who was shot. He measured 6 feet in height. James Backhouse,¹ who spent from 1832 to 1838 in Tasmania, noticed that the aborigines on the west coast exhibited more cicatrices on the body than those inhabiting other parts of the island.

Numerous observers and writers have referred to the fact that the habitations of the west coast natives were superior in construction to those seen in other parts of Tasmania. Ling Roth⁹ refers to the observations of fourteen explorers, and others who came into contact with the living Tasmanians, regarding these shelters. According to their reports the shelters in all parts of the island, except the west coast, were erected for short, temporary use, the only evidence of long or permanent use being found among the habitations of the West Coast Tribe, which were of superior construction to those in other parts of the island. Ling Roth also states that Milligan and Jorgensen found permanent habitations on the west coast, some of which were thatched.

The most interesting and valuable descriptions of the cultural characteristics of the West Coast Tribe are undoubtedly those provided by that enthusiastic and competent modern explorer of the remote regions of Tasmania and neighbouring islands formerly occupied by the aborigines, Mr. A. L. Meston, M.A. Second only to his are

those of the late Dr. R. H. Pulleine. Meston's most important discoveries consist of rock-carvings, and Pulleine's of stone implements.

Illustrations of the rock-carvings are reproduced in Meston's reports^{5, 6}. Carvings even remotely comparable with these have not been found in other parts of Tasmania. They have caused much discussion among people interested in the cultural anthropology of the Tasmanians and the Australians, partly because they represent a stage of culture higher than that generally exhibited by the former natives.

Figures reproduced by C. P. Mountford⁷ show rock-carvings found on the Australian mainland which bear a close general resemblance to those discovered by Meston. Carvings of this kind are fairly common on the mainland, but they are rare in Tasmania.

Stone implements discovered by Pulleine on the west coast are illustrated in his paper⁸. They are quite unlike the usual types of implements found in Tasmania. Among them are a ground 'axe of basanite,' a 'chisel-shaped implement,' long 'shaped pounders of schistose quartzite,' and a 'fragment of smooth slaty rock, perforated' and formed to suggest a bull-roarer. The words quoted are Pulleine's.

While none of these implements is of a kind recognizable as the product of the hands of a Tasmanian aboriginal, they all closely resemble implements found in large numbers on the Australian mainland. They represent a stage of culture higher than the Tasmanian, as we know it.

For many years past there has been much controversy concerning the significance of two apparently different stages of aboriginal culture which have been found in Tasmania. Associated with the difference in culture has been a corresponding difference observed in the physical characteristics of the natives themselves. All writers have related both differences to the Tasmanian aborigines.

Some writers believed the physical differences to have been caused environmentally, while others attributed the cultural differences to the probable origin of the Tasmanians from two races. In the absence of any geographical barriers, it is impossible to accept the view that differences in environment existed in the relatively small area of the island of Tasmania sufficiently potent to cause physical variations in the aborigines. Also, the accumulated evidence

found by many eminent anatomists and craniologists, including Huxley and Turner, combined with the essence of the numerous available descriptions of the living natives, leaves no doubt but that the Tasmanian race was unmixed, and that it arose from the Negrito branch of the great Negroid stock. How, then, can one account for the cultural and physical differences which have actually been observed?

The outstanding fact regarding the un-Tasmanian characteristics, physical and cultural, is that they all relate to the one geographical area, the west coast region, the domain of the Western Tribe. If we consider the reports of the early explorers, settlers, and officials concerning the physical characteristics of the Tasmanian aborigines generally, on the one hand, and of the natives belonging to the West Coast Tribe, on the other, we arrive at the same position as we do if we direct our attention, in a similar way, to the cultural characteristics. We end inevitably by noting that the differences between the West Coast Tribe and the Tasmanian aborigines in general are greater than those between the former natives and Australian aborigines. The physical descriptions point to some members of this tribe as Tasmanians, and to others as Australian, or Australoid, natives; the stone implements found on the west coast can be clearly divided into Tasmanian and Australian types, while the rock-carvings found there bear a strong general resemblance to carvings found in Australia.

Turning to the craniological evidence, we find that it confirms the cultural and the general physical evidence. Hrdlička noted that three skulls examined by him, which had been found on the west coast, were all Australian in type. The larger number which have since been found on this coast have been classified by Wunderly¹³, some as those of Tasmanian full-bloods, two as of Australian full-bloods, and eight (including the three examined by Hrdlička) as of Tasmanian-Australian mixed-bloods. It should not be assumed, however, that all these skulls are those of individuals who were contemporaries.

All available evidence, therefore, suggests strongly that a number of Australian aborigines voyaged or were transported from the mainland, and eventually inhabited the west coast regions of Tasmania, where mating occurred between them and the Tasmanians. Assuming that this

hypothesis is correct, it gives rise to the following questions:—Did these Australians arrive in Tasmania before or after the beginning of European settlement? Were they in Tasmania for a long or a short period? Were they present in small or large numbers? Was their voyage from the mainland voluntary and purposive, or involuntary?

When the first recorded discovery of the very tall hostile natives of the west coast was made, many of them were mature or old adults. They stood in marked contrast in stature to their associates of average Tasmanian height. A record has not been found with reference to the numerical proportion of very tall natives to those of average height. Some of the skulls classified as those of Tasmanian-Australian mixed-bloods belonged to adults who had reached middle or old age.

The physical and cultural evidence has all been found localized in a clearly defined and relatively small area of Tasmania. The skulls classified as of Tasmanian-Australian origin represent only seven per cent. of the total number of specimens labelled 'Tasmanian' in collections in Australia and Tasmania. The rock-carvings were discovered in only two places in the region of the West Coast Tribe, while the stone implements of Australoid types were found in practically one small area in its domain.

These facts all point to the probability that the Australian full-bloods and the Tasmanian-Australian mixed-bloods constituted a minority in the West Coast Tribe. They also suggest that only a small number of Australians reached the west coast from Australia, and that they arrived probably one or two generations prior to the beginning of European settlement.

The Australians may have been transported from the mainland to Tasmania by explorers, whalers, or sealers, who either left no record of their voyage, or who did not include in their records a reference to this event. It is not possible to draw any conclusion as to the part of Australia from which they may have been taken.

If they made an involuntary voyage by canoe, their journey may have been caused by a storm accompanied by a strong wind, which could have driven their craft from the coast of Victoria or South Australia to Tasmania within two or three days. In referring to the ocean currents round the south coast of Australia, James³ (p. 137)

supplies the following particulars:—"Between Cape Leeuwin and Cape Otway, the current usually runs easterly for nine months of the year, owing to the prevailing westerly winds. Between Cape Northumberland and Bass Strait, however, the current may run westerly during the summer months, owing to the easterly winds. The current through Bass Strait, generally sets eastward with westerly, and westward with easterly winds, continuing for one or two days after the respective winds have ceased." From these particulars, and also from the records of boats and wreckage which have been blown from the Australian coast to the Tasmanian, it is reasonable to believe that the Australians would have started their involuntary journey either from the eastern end of the coast of Victoria, or from a locality near Cape Northumberland which is close to the border between Victoria and South Australia.

If the voyages of the Australians were voluntary and purposive, their probable routes are limited to three. They may have travelled from Cape Otway on the Victorian coast to the north-west corner of Tasmania, via King Island, the Hunter Islands, and perhaps other small islands which have since disappeared. A route easier still to accomplish would have been from Wilson's Promontory on the coast of Victoria to the north-east corner of Tasmania, via a chain of islands including Flinders Island and Cape Barren Island. During the progress of a voyage by the latter route, they could have been driven by ocean current towards the north-west corner of Tasmania.

The nearest island on each route is visible in clear weather from the Victorian coast, the height of the ranges at Cape Otway providing the elevation necessary to bring King Island into view. By either route land is within sight throughout the whole journey from coast to coast when visibility is very good.

A more detailed study of the anatomical and biometrical data of the skulls of some of the members of the West Coast Tribe may enable comparison to be made with regional groups associated with the coastal districts of Victoria and South Australia. Such a comparison might throw some light on the question of the locality, from which the Australians departed, and the route by which they travelled to Tasmania.

In an attempt to reach the truth about the origin and the characteristics of the Tasmanian aborigines, an analysis has been made of the

correlated physical and cultural evidence regarding those natives who comprised the West Coast Tribe, sometimes referred to as the Western Tribe. The conclusion has been reached that the weighing of all the evidence strongly suggests that this tribe contained some members who were Tasmanian full-bloods, some Tasmanian-Australian mixed-bloods, and a few Australian full-bloods.

The writer has completed a survey of alleged Tasmanian skulls in collections in Tasmania and Australia. Photographs of three of the specimens which are probably of mixed Tasmanian-Australian descent are reproduced in Plate H. The first (Nos. 1 and 2) and second (Nos. 3 and 4)—these being Nos. 31 and 30 respectively in my 'Tasman' series—came from the north coast; the third (Nos. 5 and 6)—No. 66 in the 'Tasman' series—came from the northern end of the west coast, about 80 miles away.

I am indebted to the late Mr. Clive Lord, formerly Director of the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart, for many literary references; to Mr. W. H. Preston of the Anatomy School in the University of Melbourne, for the reproduction of the photographs, and to Miss Marjorie Allen for the typing of the manuscript.

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PRINCIPLES OF HÄ(RHN)DE : A(NG) DIVINATION. By George Devereux, Ph.D., Local Correspondent for French Indo-China; Department of Anthropology, University of California.

143 The Hä(rhn)de:a(ng) are officially known as 'Sedang.' They live mostly in the Northern part of the Sécateur de Dak-To, Province de Kontum, Annam. They are a typical Mon-Khmer Moi tribe.¹ The data about to be presented concern chiefly the Central Division of this tribe; Tea Ha and its immediate neighbourhood.

We must first of all distinguish between omens and divinations. Omens are events which were not brought about by human agency, and which, when correctly interpreted, give clues to the outcome of undertakings, or impose duties upon those who hear them. We must consider bird-calls, either indicating success or failure, or indicating the beginning of the planting season, as omens. I would further consider the inspection of the jawbone of fowls as an omen, rather than as divination.

Divination is a purposive human action which may have several possible and observable results and which indicates the course to be taken or the nature of future events. If we make our future course dependent upon the outcome of a heads-or-tails game, we are performing a divination. All divinations in this tribe—except one—fall into this class.

Heads-or-tails is played with two 'dice.' Any two objects suited to the circumstance under which this act of divination is performed may be called a pair of 'dice.' They must have such shape as to land on the ground in two ways only: heads or tails. One surface is called 'open' (*khne:ang*); the other surface is called 'closed' (*kcap*). Usually certain roots are split into two halves. Under other conditions the two halves of a log (*question* :—'who shall start the fire?'); two pieces of buffalo-skin (*question* :—'what is the outcome of this sacrifice?'); the two halves of the beak of a fowl (war-ceremony, etc.); and other 'dice' are also used. The dice are cast either from the blade of a sword, or by hand. In both cases the dice are placed first so that the 'open' surface is facing downward, and then they are thrown. (The 'open' surface is usually the flattest surface:—the hollow of the beak, the inner surface of the skin, etc.).

The results can be distributed as follows:—two-heads, two-tails, two heads-and-tails. The

first two mean 'nay' or 'unfavourable.' The last mean 'aye' or 'favourable.' Thus the probability of an 'aye' is 2:4. For 'nay' twice 1:4. In other words, the chances of obtaining an 'aye' are as great as the chances of obtaining a 'nay.' There is a special reason why these natives should consider an odd combination (heads-and-tails) more favourable than an even combination (two-heads, two-tails). Odd numbers are associated with living beings; even numbers, with the dead and the ghosts. Ghosts have six fingers, they return on the fourth or sixth night, etc.

The veraciousness of the dice is not seldom tested before asking them the crucial questions. Let us assume that the 'dice' selected are shillings. The diviner addresses the shillings as follows: "Pho! Dice, if you be truly shillings, then fall one open and one closed. If you are not shillings then fall both open or both closed." If the shillings declare their true identity by falling open-and-closed (one 'heads,' one 'tails'), they are accepted as 'truthful' dice and used for answering the rest of the questions. If the shillings 'lie' and pretend not to be shillings (by falling both 'heads' or both 'tails') they are discarded and another kind of dice (perhaps made from another kind of root) are substituted, just as though we discarded the shillings and used now pence. This process is continued until one set of dice speaks the truth and admits its identity. Sometimes, but very rarely, a further question is asked from the dice—one to which the answer is known. (Thus we may ask the pence to affirm or to deny that London is in England.) If the selected dice 'lie' in giving the second answer, they are not discarded, but cast again and again until they speak the truth. Then the questions which really interest the diviner are put to the dice. These double precautions are taken very rarely and only in situations of some importance. Usually the dice are selected so as to fit the occasion, and then the questions of interest are asked without any preliminary test.

It should be stated that I do not think it possible to cast the dice in such a way as to give the required answers. They are far too irregularly shaped for that, and the method of casting the dice does not permit any lengthy contact. Nor is that necessary, for reasons about to be explained.

¹ Devereux, George: 'Functioning Units in Hä(rhn)de : a(ng) Society.' *Primitive Man*, X, 1936, No. 1, pp. 1-7, contains a survey of their social organization.

They have another way of making the dice say what they want. It consists in simply disregarding the unpleasant answers, and casting the dice again and again until a favourable reply is obtained. The favourable reply alone is considered. For instance, Lo's long-house wished to build a new house. They knew very well where they wanted to build it. One morning, Lo, the house chief, went out and took his dice with him. Upon reaching the selected spot he asked the dice if they wished him to build the house 'here.' The dice said 'no.' Whereupon Lo cast them again about one or two inches further. The dice still said 'no.' He kept on casting them within a circle of not more than a foot in diameter, until the dice said 'yes.' In that place the first stake was driven. Obviously in the case of a house of 20-30 cubits it does not matter whether you shift its selected location by a couple of inches. On the other hand, when the dice are supposed to select individuals for given ceremonial or social tasks they accept the first dictum. Thus, not so long ago, a village-chief was to be elected at Tea Pley. All adult males mentioned were rejected by the verdict of the dice. In the end a small boy, not more than four or five years old, was chosen by the dice. The men accepted the verdict at once. It does not matter in the least who the chief is. He has as much or as little authority as he is able to obtain for himself. In the same way are appointed the persons who start the work in the fields, bring fire into the house, move the hens to the new house, etc.

It may cause wonder that these natives literally compel the dice to agree with them. This may be interpreted as 'magic'—in other words, as actions compelling the spirits to consent to a certain course of action. That is definitely not the case. The Moi say they cast dice because they were told to do so by their ancestors. They do not believe implicitly that dice are competent oracles, when they pretend to divine the future: 'It just makes us feel good.' On the other hand, when they are determined to pursue a certain course of action and compel the dice to advise them to do what they wanted to do anyway, they reason as follows: "If we 'make a mistake or do the wrong thing the spirits cannot be angry with us. It is not our fault. It is the fault of the dice. We are 'supposed to obey the dice. The spirits know it.

"Therefore they will be angry with the dice only, 'for giving us bad advice.'" It is simply a ceremony whereby they 'pass the buck' or hide behind the dice. They do not assume that spirits influence the fall of the dice. They are just ordinary material objects which fall according to natural laws. But they are traditional means of shirking personal responsibility. If the verdict of the dice is not inconvenient, they abide by it. Sometimes they abide by it, even if it is a bit disappointing. Thus the old chief of Tea Ha, Mbrao, was bitterly disappointed that the dice selected not his favourite oldest son Niet, but his third son Nu : (n) as his successor, when he felt old enough to retire. Since being chief is more trouble than profit—and since the selection of a person for a given purpose is only a minor matter—they accepted the verdict. But let the dice advise something inconveniencing them—such as building the house elsewhere than is planned, or declare that people will die and the crops fail! The dice will be cast again and again until a reassuring answer is obtained. This, too, is custom. They do not really think that it will modify the actual yield of the crop. It simply encourages them.

The diviners need not be shamans (*petyao*). Divination is performed by a person whose status, with respect to the ceremony is question, implies the duty to cast the dice.

A form of augury-reading, intermediate between true divination and omen-interpretation, is represented by the war-oracle. Led by the leader of the projected war-party they catch eleven unidentified water-animals, probably water-snails. In the village these animals are lined up in two rows of six and five individuals respectively, facing each other. The six stand for the foe (*cf.*, evil connotations of even numbers). The five stand for the villagers. A stick is put between the two rows. If the six cross the stick first the foe is likely to win and the war-party is abandoned. If the five pass the stick victory is expected. Rice is thereupon cast around the water-snails. The rice is watched for about five or ten minutes. The number of animals coming to eat rice (birds, mice, etc.) indicates the number of slaves that will be caught. The odds are about evenly divided between the village and the foe, as represented by the test-animals, with perhaps a slight margin favouring the village.

Divinations involving shamanistic power do not concern us here. They cannot be understood independently from shamanistic powers.

The principles of divination as above exposed

may seem rather strange, but fit in admirably with the rest of the culture. It would be interesting to know whether similar scepticism and rationalization is met with elsewhere.

AURICULAR HEAD HEIGHT: A SURVEY WITH STANDARDIZED TECHNIQUE AS OBJECTIVE

By M. L. Tildesley

144 The height of the head above the level of the ear-holes is a character whose measurement bristles with alternatives and difficulties; in consequence many of the data recorded for it are non-comparable *inter se*, being measured from different terminals or by methods of doubtful accuracy. The lower terminal is in the ear-hole centre ('meation'), on its roof, or on its floor, or at some corresponding fragial point. The upper terminal is the apex (highest point in transverse vertical plane through lower terminal), the level of the vertex (highest point on head), or bregma. And there is a choice of definitions of head-position to determine apex and vertex.

Horace Gray and his collaborators¹ have done what is possible to render such data comparable and thus make the best of the present unfortunate situation. They have also given us an excellent historical account of the adoption of the various terminals, planes and instruments, and an extensive bibliography. It only remains therefore for this survey of standardization possibilities to sum up the present position and to suggest where the greatest likelihood of agreement lies. A preliminary comment, applying to technique in general, is that a survey of current literature shows the majority of workers to follow either Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, or the International Agreements of Monaco and Geneva (1906-12). Where these agree, and are found practicable and sufficiently accurate (after more exact definition, in some cases), we shall find in their common features the most hopeful basis for general agreement.

Upper Terminals.—The uncertain determination of the bregma, especially on the non-bald head, and the fact that this terminal is aimed at by only one considerable school of anthropometry (that of Hrdlička²), make its chance of international adoption very slight. The choice will rest between vertex and apex, Monaco pres-

cribing the former, Martin preferring the latter. A point in favour of auricular height to vertex is that it requires no extra instrument³, being the difference between heights of ear-point and vertex; against it, is the error caused by any change of posture between the taking of these two. If the direct measurement 'auricular height to apex' can be made more accurate without adding much to the expense or weight of the field anthropologist's outfit, the odds I think will probably be in its favour. Meanwhile errors in comparing racial data would be reduced by insistence on the full title 'auricular height to vertex' or '... to apex'; for the former with few exceptions exceeds the latter, and that by an amount varying individually and racially.

Position of the head.—Though Broca made the plane through 'meation' and 'subnasale' horizontal, his pupil and successor Topinard abandoned this for 'Head erect, glance horizontal,' which was later adopted at Monaco and divides anthropometric adherents with the Frankfort horizontal of the *Lehrbuch*. The mean result may be the same, FH having been chosen as giving the mean position of the erect head; but observational variability should in theory be lessened by relieving auricular height of dependence on the subject's posture. Tests would show. Also, taken from FH it agrees with cranial technique.

Lower terminals.—Whether the selected terminal is actually in the ear-hole or in front of it at a corresponding level depends on the choice of instrument. We will therefore consider first the level selected. Monaco (with a Geneva amendment) and Martin agree here: porion-level. Hrdlička and his followers in America are alone in using the meatal floor; the other American schools of anthropometry measure from the level of the porion. Most British and French observers, following Broca, measure from meation, but one must confess that data from this landmark to-day form a minor section of the world's anthropo-

¹ Five papers in *Amer. Journ. Phys. Anthropol.*, Vol. XI (1928).

² For most characters Hrdlička adopts the Monaco-Geneva agreements.

³ Nor does Martin's technique for measuring height to apex, but it has other drawbacks, mentioned below.

metric output; nor is it likely that they offer superior accuracy.

Porion-level seems most likely therefore to become general. But how is the point anterior to porion defined? At Monaco-Geneva as 'the bottom of the notch between tragus and helix'; but the length and contours of this notch make the definition inexact. Martin defines it as 'at the inter-section of tangents to the anterior and superior margins of the tragus,' and also itself 'on the upper margin.' The latter condition being usually inconsistent with the first, the first alone gives the better definition of tragon, which is then the alternative to porion at this level, and is the terminal for auricular height to vertex; the sharp anthropometer-tip being unsuitable for introduction into the ear-hole.

As regards auricular height to apex, Martin prescribes the anthropometer (upper end) for this too; but the inaccuracy to which this method is liable causes his followers to omit the character from their list of measurements more often than its racial importance would dictate. Indeed, the difficulties offered by this character to accurate measurement explain the variety of the solutions tried; and the choice between porion and tragon must rest largely on this question of accuracy. If equally accurate results can be obtained from both, by equally simple means, the choice will doubtless fall on tragon, since this avoids the discomfort of having an instrument inserted in the ear-holes.

It remains to mention some instruments. Two widely used in America are Todd's Western Reserve University head-spanner⁴ (with ear-plugs and measuring from porion) and Hrdlička's spreading

compass⁵ with guards to prevent the tips entering further than 8 mm. Herskovits, making with the head-spanner 'repeated measurements' on 85 individuals found his mean error 1.25 mm.⁶ H. Gray and S. O. L. Robinson, measuring 120 boys with head-spanner and with Hrdlička's compass held up against porion, got mean values differing by only .07 mm., and a non-significant difference between the S.D.s (with spanner, $4.85 \pm .211$, with compass $5.00 \pm .218$). Also, for field work, the compass had the advantage of lighter weight and further uses⁷. Stevenson added an improvement to the compass in 1929⁸. For tragial measurements, on the other hand, Schultz' parallelometer⁹ is simple in design and use, and is said to have an accuracy that tends to be affected only by the thickness of hair interposed between its horizontal bar and the scalp. For all these we need more data from tests. But—to close with a personal contribution to the topic of instruments—if one had a parallelometer with its horizontal bar deviating 2 cm. upwards in its middle portion to hold a blunt wedge-shaped attachment whose tip should descend to the exact level of the interrupted horizontal and be able to go through the hair to the scalp; fitted also with the head-spanner's orbitale-pointer attached to its own left tragon-pointer; one might perhaps then find in it a combination of all the virtues required in an instrument for measuring auricular head-height to apex.

⁵ *Anthropometry*, by Aleš Hrdlička, 1920, p. 70.

⁶ *Anthropometry of the American Negro*, by Melville J. Herskovits: *Columbia Univ. Contrib. to Anthropol.*, Vol. XI (1930), p. 25.

⁷ *Am. Journ. Phys. Anthropol.*, Vol. XI (1927-8), p. 350.

⁸ *Am. Journ. Phys. Anthropol.*, Vol. XIII (1929), p. 469.

⁹ *Anthrop. Anzeiger*, Vol. IX (1932), p. 305.

A GAME FROM THE GREAT WESTERN DESERT OF AUSTRALIA. By Norman B. Tindale. Illustrated.

145 During the Adelaide University Anthropological Expedition to the Warburton Range, Western Australia, in August, 1935 (Tindale, *Oceania*, vi (1936), pp. 481-485), groups of Ngadadjara children were several times noticed to be playing a game called 'mamutjitji'. Each child, with his thumb and index finger, takes hold of the skin on the back of one of his hands and of one of his mates, the whole forming a chain of closely linked hands, as shown in the accompanying photograph

(Fig. 1) depicting three small boys and two girls at play. They lift their hands up and down in unison as they sing:

'Mamu 'tjitji 'jantala 'bu: bu } repeated
' devil baby home go ' } several
(ant-lion larva) } times.

This may be rendered as 'Ant-lion, go to your home.' The ant-lions referred to are the larvæ of species of neuropterous insects of the family

Myrmeleonidae, which form funnel-shaped pits in which they trap unwary insects, such as ants. The ant-lion lies in wait at the bottom of the pit.

The word 'jantala' is perhaps best translated by the noun 'home' and refers to the pit in which the 'mamutjitji' spends its larval life. A native rat, called 'minkeri', builds a mound of bushes and lives inside it; this mound is known as a 'jantala'. A similar species builds a mound of stones; this also is called a 'jantala'. 'Bu:bu' has several meanings, such as 'away' and 'go away'.

The 'mamutjitji' song is also sung while playing with ant-lion larvae, which the children allow to burrow back into the sand of their pits. They also love to drop ants into the pits and watch them being captured by the ant-lions.

There is a striking resemblance between this game and one described by F. E. Williams (*Papuan of the Fly River* (Oxford, 1936), p. 443, pl. xviii) from the Fly River, called *Homban*, or the 'Ants':—"A number of boys and girls cluster together and make a tower of their hands, each hand pinching with thumb and forefinger the skin

"of the hand below it. Suddenly one breaks away
"and then all start pinching each other, like so



FIG. 1. NGADADJARA CHILDREN PLAYING "MAMUTJITJI."

"many ants biting." The figure given here is, by chance, almost a duplicate of the figure in Williams' book.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Soil Erosion in East Africa. *Report of a discussion meeting of the Applied Anthropology Committee, June 24, 1938.*

Mrs. Elspeth Huxley, opening a discussion on soil erosion in East Africa, pointed out that Africa is particularly liable to erosion owing to climatic and geographical conditions, and in recent years the process has been accelerated to a dangerous degree. Erosion is due partly to excessive cultivation and partly to overstocking. With the increase of population under European administration and the extension of cultivation to include commercial crops, the fallow periods which the native system of agriculture requires have been cut down until in some cases cultivation is almost continuous. Steep slopes have been brought under cultivation, with particularly serious consequences where the plough is used. In the pastoral areas the situation is most serious. In Kenya and Tanganyika the numbers of stock owned by natives are 50 per cent. or more in excess of the estimated carrying capacity of the land. There is general agreement on the technical measures required to check erosion, but difficulties arise from the fact that they call for fundamental changes in native custom.

Agricultural officers wish to see the introduction of individual land tenure in order to facilitate the adoption of terracing, mixed farming, and fencing. Anthropologists could advise on suitable types of tenure, as well as on the subsidiary consequences of a modification of the system. With the Kikuyu, for example, the abandonment of the existing

system would affect the position of the *aramati*, or elders, who exercise considerable political influence in virtue of their right to allot land. The method of inheritance by equal division between sons leads to excessive fragmentation and subdivision of holdings, and the agriculturists advocate the substitution of primogeniture. The attachment of these people to their goats, which are used for bride-price, makes it difficult to recommend a reduction in their numbers. Anthropologists could advise on the possibility of substituting cash for goats in such customary payments, or of finding any other substitute. With the pastoral tribes the problem is to overcome the conservatism which makes them unwilling to sell their stock, since they have little use for money. Finally the eventual development of a landless class must be envisaged, and the possible means of subsistence for such a class should be studied.

Among a wide range of points raised in discussion, emphasis was laid on the necessity of understanding the rationale of native methods. Numerous instances were quoted of supposed improvements, such as tree-planting, planting in rows, weeding and the abandonment of grass-burning, which had either been found impracticable, given the necessities of the native system, or positively deleterious. It was nevertheless generally agreed that in those areas where erosion is threatening to cause the complete destruction of the soil, measures must be taken against it, and that in these cases it is essential that propaganda be based on a full understanding of native methods and attitudes.

Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia. Letter communicated by W. Godfrey Wilson, 27 May 1938, Local Correspondent for Northern Rhodesia.

The chief recent event of anthropological interest in Northern Rhodesia is the foundation of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Central African studies. The Institute derives its financial support partly from the British Governments in Central Africa, partly from the great Companies which have interests there, partly from Trusts and private individuals; it is governed by a Board of Trustees, with His Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia as President; and its main function is to research into problems of culture-contact. The Director of the Institute is Mr. Godfrey Wilson, and a second Social Anthropologist is now being appointed.

The situation which, in Northern Rhodesia, faces the Institute, and demands investigation, is briefly this.¹ Of the total able-bodied male population of the Territory 44 per cent. are always at any one time in European employment; 17½ per cent. are outside the territory (in South Rhodesia and the Lupa Gold Fields of Tanganyika for the most part) and 26½ per cent. inside; but the vast majority in all cases are many miles from their rural homes. Within the territory the mines (on the Copper Belt and at Broken Hill), the railways, farms, domestic service, commerce, the Government, the Municipalities, and the Missions, all need African labour, and all obtain it.

In the five Provinces of Northern Rhodesia the situation is not the same. The Northern, Eastern and Barotse Provinces are 'denuded areas,' with between 45 per cent. and 60 per cent. of their men always in employment, mostly outside the Provincial boundaries. In the Central and Southern Provinces (in which lie the railway and the main industrial and commercial centres) a far lower proportion of men seek employment, for it is possible for many to make money there by selling food (maize, fish, ground-nuts, millet, etc.) to the urban centres.

The Government is seeking continuously to develop economic crops and products (e.g., cotton

and bees-wax) in the 'denuded areas,' to be a source of money alternative to the sale of labour power; but, owing to difficulties of climate and transport, no great success has yet attended its efforts; "experiments have shown that large areas of the territory are unsuitable for the production of cotton."² The uncomfortable truth must be faced that the remoter districts, in and behind the flybelts, possess no agricultural product which "can support the expense of 400 miles of road transport."

Although the men who go out to work still, in the majority of cases, go alone, the custom of taking their wives and children with them is rapidly growing. Many of the great industrial companies encourage them to do so, and provide extra rations for their wives and proper accommodation. It is found that the average length of service, and hence the efficiency of the labourers, is thereby greatly increased.³

There are therefore, in the main, three inter-related problems to be investigated:—

(1) What is happening in the new African society that consists of permanent and semi-permanent residents in urban and industrial areas?

(2) What is happening among that group of men that alternates regularly between the urban and rural areas?

(3) What is happening to African society in the rural, and especially the 'denuded' areas?

In my next letter I hope to be able to write in more detail of the problems which face the research officers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, and of our plans of investigation.

Incorporated in the Institute is the four years old Livingstone Memorial Museum, of which Mr. Desmond Clark is Curator. The Museum houses historical, ethnological and archaeological specimens, and it proves a great attraction for the tourist traffic which annually visits the Victoria Falls. The Curator, whose main interest is Archaeology, is at the moment engaged in an inspection of the Zambesi gorges (below the Falls) where he has already unearthed some most interesting and important stone implements.

¹ Figures from *Annual Report on Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia*, 1936.

² *Native Affairs Annual Report*, 1936, p. 8.

³ *Modern Industry and the African*, 1933, p. 188.

OBITUARY.

Konrad Theodor Preuss: 1869—8th June, 1938.

148 Konrad Theodor Preuss was born at Preussisch-Eylau in 1869; thus he was 69 years of age.

His degree-thesis, presented in 1894, was on the 'burial customs of America and North Eastern Asia.' His articles on religion and art, in the journal *Globus*, 1904 ff., made him a name throughout the anthropological world. In Mexico he did two years' field work among the Cara and Huichol Indians, with the Nayarit Expedition, the results

of which began to appear in 1912; mostly religious texts compared with old Aztec documents.

From about 1913 until 1919 he lived in South America, principally in Columbia, where he studied the Uitoto and the Kágaba Indians. Voluminous texts and an extensive publication of the archaeology of Columbia—in particular the monumental stone figures in the region containing the sources of the Magdalena River—were among the rich results of that field work, he was eventually not allowed to publish the rest of his abundant material.

As Director of the American Dept., Berlin Ethnographical Museum, Preuss succeeded the late Professor Edward Seler, and retired only four years ago. He also was Reader in Ethnology in the University of Berlin, and a member of the committee of the Berlin Anthropological Society. In recognition of his great merits no less than twenty learned

societies all over the world elected him honorary fellow.

By his death, which was sudden—he was discussing scientific matters only the day before—the Science of Man has lost a distinguished scholar, and a fieldworker of excellent gifts and eminent merits, and his colleagues and correspondents a sincere friend. J. L. M.

REVIEWS.

EASTERN ASIA.

The Negritos of Malaya. By Ivor H. N. Evans, M.A., Cambridge University Press. 1937.

149 The Negritos of the Malay peninsula can claim a curious point of distinction from their relatives in the Andaman and the Philippine Islands, inasmuch as they contrived to elude the scrutiny of European visitors until a comparatively recent date.

The Andamanese were already notorious in the thirteenth century, the Philippine Negritos were reported in the sixteenth century, but (if there be excepted a vague reference by a Portuguese writer) the Malayan Negritos remained obscure till the commencement of the nineteenth century.

From the time of Raffles (1810), followed by Crauford and Logan, the stream of descriptive publications has flowed continuously. Contributions of exceptional value have appeared periodically, and as outstanding examples there may be cited the reports furnished by Vaughan Stevens (from about 1882 to 1896), followed by the great work of Blagden and Skeat (1906), and the equipment of the contributors has gradually improved to the benefit of all concerned.

Of authorities subsequent to Blagden and Skeat, the first place is undoubtedly assignable to Mr. Evans. He has enjoyed the advantages conferred by a course of training as a preliminary to prolonged residence (1913-1932) in close proximity to the subjects of his studies. Such valuation of the work of Mr. Evans is quite compatible with full appreciation of the merits of Mr. Schebesta, whose record presents so many contrasts with it. Mr. Schebesta spent less than two years in the Peninsula. In that short space of time, he accomplished a marvellous amount of work. But the fact remains that despite his indefatigable industry, lack of experience inevitably handicaps him when his versions of native topics conflict with those made by observers who can claim the support justly conferred by a more prolonged period of study. Mr. Schebesta was not only devoted to his task, diligent to an extraordinary degree, and successful in overcoming climatic and other drawbacks only conceivable by those who have encountered them. In *Among the Dwarfs of Malaya*, he contrives to convey a most vivid impression of his life in the forest with sundry Negrito tribes. In collaboration with Dr. Lebzelter he published a report on the physical anthropology of the Semangs and Sakeis, wherein the number of individuals studied exceeds the largest figure previously recorded. But some of his translations of what the Negritos told him are seemingly open to criticism, and in fact it is a matter of good fortune that in Mr. Evans we find combined precisely the first-hand knowledge and mature experience so necessary for the proper assessment of Mr. Schebesta's accounts.

This is not really a digression. Mr. Evans now gives a summary and a review, with a commentary on the twenty-four memoirs or books published during

his active service in the Federated Malay States. Concurrently he employs his results explicitly in checking and in criticising the statements of his contemporaries, and of these Mr. Schebesta is very much the most prolific.

Mr. Evans ranges widely over the field of ethnology and anthropology. The various chapters deal with subjects so diverse as dwellings, food, agriculture, clothing, face-painting, weapons, dancing, art, deities, thunder-tales, blood-sacrifice, the after-world, linguistics and physical anthropology. Out of so vast a collection, the selection of the best illustrations has proved so difficult, that I have to confine myself to two matters submitted here simply because they have extensive associations.

The first of these may be set out as follows: In recalling (p. 249) an account, published many years ago by Vaughan Stevens, relating to what was termed a "bird-soul," Mr. Evans refers to the belief of some Negritos (the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka river, Pahang) that a certain kind of bird is intimately connected with the birth of children. When a pregnant woman hears the bird cry, she knows that the soul of her (unborn) child has arrived.

Mr. Schebesta (p. 232; Mr. Evans quotes this in connexion with his own observations) states that the Kenta-Bogn (Kintak Bong of Evans) hold the belief that a bird forms the foetus in the mother's womb. He adds that it can only do this because it is a *hala* (magician) bird, and he declares that the belief has nothing to do with sex-totemism.

In his well-known work on the Andaman Islanders, Professor A. R. Brown states (p. 91) that "in the north 'Andaman' there is some sort of association between 'the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon, and 'the *Ficus lactifera* tree,' and again, 'it is when the 'green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes 'into its mother.'"

Coincidences of this kind are so numerous in ethnology that this example would not be remarkable, save that it is itself coincident with another coincidence, namely, that the word 'totem' is absent from the index of each of the three very important works here cited.

The other matter is cave-exploration, and the attention devoted to this by Mr. Evans and his colleagues in the service of the Federated Malay States. This is one of the most impressive developments of the last few years, and it is a matter of regret that the human remains have yielded less definite information than was expected. Some of the crania are small, and these are also elongated, i.e., dolichocephalic. Consequently they suggest some other type than the Negrito. For such a type there is no need to look far, especially when we recall the fact that Mr. Evans himself agrees in recognizing, among the existing pagan tribes, the Sakai who provide the requisite combination of pygmy stature with long heads. But even so, there are so few examples, and of these

none capable of such restoration as to exhibit the face as well as the braincase of the same individual. The occurrence, too, of posthumous distortion of the skull cannot be entirely ignored and, in general, it is by no means impossible that future finds may cause a very appreciable revision of the evidence now available.

But the cave bones are not all of strictly pygmy size. One thigh-bone has been stated to indicate a possessor with a stature of 1,690 mm. But, although a Sakei measured by Mr. Kloss provided 1,698 mm., yet this individual was clearly exceptional, as reference to Mr. Kloss' published tables will show. It is suggested, accordingly, that a taller type than the pygmy was present, and there are relatively massive jaws and teeth to associate with the longer bones from the caves. Here I may supplement Mr. Evans' note 3 on p. 296 by a citation from Huxley—(*Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, New Series, Vol. 2, 1863, No. xxiv, p. 265). Writing of the "Very fragmentary upper and lower jaw remains from the Shell-Mounds of Province 'Wellesley,' he concludes that the face must have as prognathous a character as that of an ordinary Australian. "Indeed, the left half of an upper maxilla corresponds with great exactness with the corresponding part of a bisected skull of an Australian native in the Hunterian Museum." And with a renewal of reference to the slowness of the materials, he proceeds: "But, such as the evidence is, it appears to me to be altogether opposed to the supposition that the bones belonged to either a Malayan race, or to a people allied to the Andaman Islanders. On the contrary, I should be inclined to look among the Papuan races of New Guinea or New Holland for the nearest allies of the men to whom the shell-mound once belonged."

The accession of more and better preserved specimens from caves or shell-mounds will be awaited with interest. Pending such events, a specification of the distinctive features of the Malayan and pre-Malayan varieties of human crania is greatly to be desired. Seventy years ago Mr. John Crawford read a paper to the Ethnological Society (*Translations of the Ethnological Society*, Vol. 7, 1868, xii, p. 119, 24 March, 1868), entitled "On the 'Malayan Race of Man and its Prehistoric Career.'" Having described the stature, the face, the skin, the hair and the limbs, he proceeded: "In this attempt to describe the physical characteristics of the Malayan race, I take no account of the form of the skull because I am thoroughly satisfied that the most skilful craniologist would not be able to distinguish it from the skull of a Chinese, of a Tartar, of an Esquimaux, or, indeed, of any other race of man having a low-bridged nose." And craniologists still await a reliable schedule enabling them to construct a reasoned diagnosis of a Malayan skull, and to take this step towards distinguishing pre-Malayan examples.

A few words on the subject of 'body-snatching' in the course of ethnological investigations may not be out of place. However great the temptation to secure such very 'material' evidence as the parts of a skeleton, regard must be had to times and places. Mr. Evans leaves no excuse available on the score of ignorance in regard to the Malayan Negritos. And in particular reference to the incident which he censures, in no future instance can enthusiasm countenance its repetition even if the net accession of scientific knowledge were very different from what is likely. The acquisition of bones is indeed costly if the sequel be assessed in the loss of information entailed through the consternation of the tribe and their precipitate flight from the perpetrator of the mischief. Enthusiasts might well be encouraged to ascertain if the possibilities of observations

on the living subject have been fully realized in particular tribes. The advantage, too, of clear knowledge of the age and sex of the individuals is not the least of recommendations here. And as particular examples, attempts might at least be made to secure representatives of the 'bite' on the appropriate dental wax, or again casts of the hands and feet might not prove impossible to collect in these days of improved transport. It might even be possible to obtain skiagrams of the bones of hands and feet at various ages. But there is not much time left, for there seems little doubt that the Malayan Negritos are not likely to endure much longer, and amid the turmoil of political strife the claims of aborigines so puny and inarticulate are not likely to receive attention. Mr. Evans has played no small part in preserving at least a vivid memory of these Negritos, and for this he deserves the congratulations and the cordial thanks, not only of students of anthropology but also of a much more numerous body of the public.

W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

Rassen- und Kulturgeschichte der Negrito-Völker Südost-Asiens. By Dr. Walter Nippold (*Studien zur Völkerkunde*, Vol. 11). Leipzig (Jordan & Gramberg), 1936. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. xii + 430 pp., 4 maps.

The Negritos here dealt with in detail are those of the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines. The author recognizes the existence of a fourth group in Western Cambodia, of which comparatively little is known, and admits traces of Negrito blood in various other parts of Further India but not elsewhere, with the possible exception of Southern China. The literature on the subject is voluminous (the bibliography at the end of the book occupies pp. 402-436) and there was great need of a work like the present one which resumes the available information and sets it out systematically. After some account of the principal sources, the author deals in turn with such matters as the physical characteristics of the Negritos, their regional distribution and environment, material culture (e.g. food and the quest for it, utensils, weapons, clothing and ornaments, habitations and crafts), social structure (including marriage and the family, the local group, the tribe, and the relation of the individual to the community, etc.) art, and history, concluding with an estimate of Negrito culture based upon such data. The author's treatment of these and other matters is full of particulars and supported throughout by footnotes referring to his sources.

The work, however, is not a mere compilation. The author surveys his materials critically and draws his own conclusions, some of which appear to me to be debatable, particularly his inferences as to what the Negritos are supposed to have borrowed from other races. For example, the Andamanese carefully preserve their fires and are ignorant of the methods of producing fire (p. 248). That is attested by the best authorities. One naturally wonders how they ever got it in the first instance. Their own explanation of its origin is given in a myth, which seems to me to indicate that it was lightning; E. H. Man suggested that they first fetched fire from a volcanic island. The Negritos of the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines, on the other hand, are able to produce fire by various methods of friction and percussion; and because such methods are also widely used in other parts of South Eastern Asia and Indonesia the author infers that the Negritos have borrowed them from some other race (pp. 249-50, 274). Logically, this seems to be a *non sequitur*, unless one assumes that nothing in the long past of the widely scattered human race was ever discovered or invented more than once.

There are many cases mentioned in this work in which foreign influence is much more probable and not a few in which it is absolutely certain. The crucial instance is that the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines have adopted, with some modifications, the languages of their alien neighbours.

Throughout the book the treatment of the subjects with which the author deals is very informative and makes up a consistent picture of a race of nomadic hunters and food gatherers, living from hand to mouth, and producing only a few simple utensils, etc. Their communities are small groups of kinsmen, and in a rudimentary way little self-contained 'states,' in an environment of forest, not, however, entirely out of touch with neighbouring races of a higher culture, but still retaining many characteristics of a primitive simplicity; though like other races they must have undergone some development, they have never reached a stone age. To the question why they have not developed further and adopted agriculture, etc., like their neighbours, the author's reply is that it is just a matter of racial incapacity. It may be so, but one may tentatively suggest that it might well be due merely to conservative

inertia: they simply did not want to take the trouble of adopting new methods involving labour to which they were unaccustomed, as long as they could satisfy their needs by merely gathering and hunting. Immemorial habits are not easily changed, especially in South Eastern Asia, as everybody knows who has lived there for some time.

It is sad that these primitive people should be doomed to extinction. Owing to the penal settlement founded in South Andaman after the Indian Mutiny, the Andamanese rapidly declined and are dwindling year by year; and the other two groups of Negritos, the author foresees, will ultimately be merged in the neighbouring races, merely leaving traces of a Negrito strain in their mixed descendants, as has happened elsewhere.

The book is well planned and will be very useful. It is a somewhat amplified version of a degree thesis accepted by the University of Göttingen. There is no index, but the table of contents (pp. vii-xii) is very full. The maps indicate the regional distribution of the Negritos and semi-Negritos. The preface foreshadows a second volume which will deal with Negrito religions.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ASIA.

Danses Magiques de Kelantan. By Jeanne Cuisinier.

Paris, 1936. 206 pp., with 4 plates. Price 56 fr. 25.
151 The authoress is to be congratulated on the production of a solid, very detailed and useful piece of work, the result of eighteen months residence in Kelantan, one of the Unfederated States of British Malaya and situated on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula.

It is rather unfortunate, though no reflection upon the authoress, that the material for her study was not what the bacteriologist would call a pure culture—anything but it. Malay magic, with its substratum of animism and superimposed layers of Hinduism and Mohammedanism, is a hybrid and rather childish cult, a fact of which Mdlle. Cuisinier is quite well aware and makes adequate mention.

The first part of the volume, consisting of ten chapters, deals, in order, with the general characteristics of magic in Kelantan, the symbolical value of metaphors, the nature of the dances, the *bélian* (wer-tiger) dance, the *gebiah*, the *ma'yong*, the *putri*, the *dalang's* masked dance and Siamese magical dances found in Kelantan.

The second part is devoted to Malay magical formulae (in Romanized Malay) with French translations thereof. The authoress is to be congratulated on using the official system of spelling and on not inventing a new one, as some authors have done. The formulae, as also those given by Skeat in his 'Malay Magic,' illustrate admirably what I have written above with regard to the various strata of belief. Thus, we find allusions to Allah, Gabriel, the Prophet, Fatimah, Daud (David), Yusup (Joseph), the Garuda of Vishnu, Dewas, etc., as well as to the more homely spiritual beings of Malay mythology and folklore.

The plates, the first three of which have six pictures to a page, the last four, are excellent. The first two pictures are of the *bélian's* ritual attitudes, the other pictures, except those of the last plate, which show a Siamese dance, are of the postures of a *putri* performer.

In the earlier chapters of the book certain points are stressed of which too little notice has probably been taken up to the present. Among these are the revelations in which the familiar spirit of the magician is obtained, generally after fasting. This spirit he may feel to penetrate, protect or dominate him. Some revelations are gratuitous and unsought. These are commonest in families where the office of magician is

hereditary, there being two categories of magician, the magician by descent and the magician by learning. In the former case the familiar spirit is that of an ancestor, real or legendary. The magician by learning, by affiliation to his teacher, becomes more or less adopted into the ranks of the hereditary performers.

The dances are in general for calling and rendering homage to these ancestral spirits in order that they may protect against danger, cure sickness or render aid in other ways. Not only the spirits of ancestors are, however, called, but it is they who respond first and control the other spirits. Some of the dances described only show some traces of these ideas and are probably degenerate. In those in which possession is a marked feature, the attainment of a state of trance is, therefore, the chief object and the proceedings open with a call to the ancestral spirit to partake of the offerings and with a salutation. The principal musician usually enacts the part of interpreter to the spirits speaking through the mouth of the magician (male or female) while in the trance. Some sorcerers say that the spirit enters the body of the medium, others that this would cause illness or death, and that it rests on his, or her, back, shoulders or nape of the neck.

The first two of the dances described, those of the *bélian* and the *gebiah*, are connected with wer-tiger beliefs, the ancestral tiger spirit being invoked. It seems probable from the music and other evidence, both internal and external, that they are really of Negrito origin. The use of quartz crystals in the *bélian* performance may be a point in this regard that has not been noted by the authoress. The object of both dances is to cure the sick and in the *gebiah* the medium is a woman, who, however, does not claim to be actually able to change herself into a tiger, as the *bélian* may. To Pergau, invoked in the *gebiah*, it is remarked, is the secret name of the tiger, the original ancestor.

In the *ma'yong*, the next dance described, though this is nowadays regarded chiefly as an entertainment, the authoress considers that even here she has discovered certain features that link it to the 'cycle des danses culturelles d'appel aux ancêtres,' chiefly through the names given to two of the executants. Certain ceremonies to pacify the spirits are, however, carried out before the performance begins.

The next dance, the *putri*, popular in Kelantan, is held on all sorts of pretexts, or even without pretext.

Where there is a pretext, it may be to cure illness, to assure success in an enterprise or to obtain a woman's favour, but a distinction is drawn between dances for the first purpose and those for others. The chief performer may be either a man or a woman. Possession (*lupa*) is a marked feature of the *putri*.

The succeeding chapter is devoted to the masked dance of the *dalang* (master of the shadow-show) which also has features of interest, the object being 'd'arracher l'individu à sa personnalité, de lui créer une personnalité plus lyrique.'

The last chapter contains accounts of two Siamese dances found among the settlers of that nationality in Kelantan. One of these, the *manora*, is less mixed in origin than its Malay equivalent the *ma'yong*, and the same is true of the other dance the purpose of which is to trap the spirits that have seized a person and made him, or her, ill. Offerings are made and the spirits are greeted, as among the Malays, while the movements of the medium's head are a feature of the performance as in the *lupa* of the *putri*. The female medium, after going through various antics in her combat with the spirits, observes the movements of a candle flame and, as the spirit departs from her, the interpreter questions her and deduces from her replies the result of the combat and the remedies to be applied, if any.

The book is undoubtedly a remarkable piece of work, but one may, perhaps, express the wish that Mdle. Cuisinier had given somewhat fuller details with regard to how the material for it was obtained. It is quite evident that she was herself present at examples of the dances with which she deals. In her opening chapters she says that her informants have been on the one hand a great number of illiterate, but not necessarily unintelligent, sorcerers, and, on the other, two Malay gentlemen, whom she names, instructed by their reading and personal researches. To these she says she owes much. One of them gave her a wealth of details of the most diverse kinds, while the other assisted her in interpreting the symbolism of the special speech of the magicians. The descriptions of the performances are extremely detailed and contain a wealth of Malay terms for articles used in the dances and in the ceremonies accompanying them, as well as for the actions performed and the performers themselves. The same frequency of native terms is to be found, moreover, in connexion with the accounts of the Siamese dances. The authoress does not say that she has had access to descriptions of the dances written down by Malays and Siamese, but, if she has not, that makes her work even more remarkable.

I. H. N. E.

Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainan: Ein Beitrag zur Volkskunde Südchinas. By H. Stübel and P. Meriggi. Berlin, 1937. vii + 338 pp., 260 plates, map and 12 tables. RM. 60.

Owing to its rich natural resources and important strategic position, the Island of Hainan, lying off the sea of South China, deserves utmost attention both from scientific and military points of view. During the past few years the Chinese Government has done a considerable amount of development.

About Hainan Island there are not a few scientific books in Chinese. Works in European languages are, however, very scarce. Gottlieb Fenzl, *Die Insel Hainan* (Mitt. Geog. Gesell. München, XXVI, 1933, 74-221), on the geology and natural history is worth mention. So the work of Stübel on the ethnography is of scientific importance.

Prof. Stübel is professor of physiology of the National Tung Chi University, Woosung (Shanghai). Early in

1931 he made his first expedition across Hainan from north to south, studying the life and manners of the Li aborigines. Unfortunately his valuable collection was entirely destroyed in Shanghai by the Japanese in 1932. Immediately after the war he took a new route and obtained even more fruitful results.

The book is written in unconventional style, without distinct demarcation of chapters, in four main parts of unequal length. The first part, comparatively brief, deals with the history and geography of the island, terms and narratives of Stübel's second journey (1932).

In the second and principal portion, four great Li tribes are fully described: (1) the Ben-di Li, (2) the Mo-fu Li, (3) the Ki, and (4) the Ha, each has some sub-groups. Some topics are treated in much details, others simply or not at all, according to the material. Illustrations are given wherever necessary.

In addition to the Li tribes there are many other peoples with high or low culture sharing the same island, such as the Miao, the sinicized Li, the Hakka and the Mohammedan, and the proper Chinese, mostly from Fukien and Canton. To these people is allotted Part III, a side issue of the main study. At the end of this part there are a few anthropometric measurements of the Li tribesmen, obviously not enough for comparison with other peoples.

In the fourth part, with study of the languages by Dr. P. Meriggi, discussion is based on these materials under three headings: (1) the characteristics of the Li tribes, (2) their common culture, and (3) the problem of the migration of the Li into Hainan Island. The author comes to the conclusion that the Li tribes are intimately affiliated both physically and culturally with the Thai people of Siam and Burma. Their language, as analyzed by Dr. Meriggi, shows the same significance.

Apart from the interesting and lively description of the Li in text, the beautiful pictures and coloured plates (about one-third of the book) add value and weight to the whole. Altogether 260 photographs, magnificently reproduced in collotype, show the natural sceneries of the Li country, portraits of the different Li types and the material culture of the Li people. Among them are 12 plates showing weaving, embroidery and patterns reproduced by chromo-photography from actual specimens. An itinerary map shows the routes of the two trips (1931 and 1932) and the geographical distribution of the tribes. There is a useful index. Chinese words are put in parentheses after the proper names in the text and on the map. Although some words are misread, they help those who read Chinese to identify the meaning of the names.

As I, too, have made an anthropological expedition to the Li country in 1934 and have had practical knowledge of the Li people, I say that Prof. Stübel has made an outstanding contribution to ethnology. It is of special value to students of the primitive peoples of Southern Asia and Oceania, as well as of Southern China. But Stübel has confined himself to the descriptive study of the Li people and made no comparison with neighbouring tribes such as those living in Indochina, Siam, Burma, South-western China, Formosa and Philippines. He has faithfully and accurately presented the facts hitherto known, and left the theoretical side for readers to draw their own conclusion. In some cases he has only touched the subjects slightly, without analyzing or working up the facts from psychological or from technological points of view. For instance, the Li women practise tattooing with a number of patterns; but for what motive do they observe such a painful custom? Further analytical study of the large collection of weaving material, full of colours and beautiful designs,

would mean an important contribution to our knowledge of primitive technology. We still hope that Prof. Stübel may use his fruitful materials, together with his intimate knowledge of the Li people, for further researches on special problems not elaborately worked out in this authoritative book. The publishers deserve great credit especially for the magnificent illustrations.

CHUNGSHIE H. LIU.

The Chinese Kinship System. By Han Yi Feng.
Reprint from 'Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,' Philadelphia, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1937.
142-275 pp.

The method of approach of the work under review is, as the author puts it, primarily historical and linguistic. It follows the old track of Morgan and Hart up to Chen and Shryock, and criticizes the earlier works not from their method of approach, but from the inadequacy of their materials. The reader is left in no doubt about the scholarship of the author as shown in his industrious collection of 338 terms (many of them rare curiosities) and an even larger number of footnotes. These terms are individually examined 'critically to insure correctness in terminology and interpretation.' In spite of the quantitative factor, they do not offer very much help to those who intend to study the process of change in the Chinese kinship system. The last four pages of conclusions undoubtedly have brought out several very suggestive generalizations about the 'broad historical correlation with the changes in the development of 'Chinese society.' But they need much more systematic documentation before they can be accepted.

Let us take the practice of tekonymy, as an example for examination, because to the author it is one of the most important 'dynamic factors' in shaping the Chinese kinship system. The author uses the term tekonymy in a much broader sense than it has been used by Tylor. After giving a long historical account, the author comes to the conclusion that "the universality of this practice in China is unquestionable; the frequency of its use, however, might have varied in time and place," p. 202. He is satisfied by this simple qualification and leaves the problem there. But the expression 'frequency of use' is too vague. Probably the author means to suggest that the principle of tekonymy has affected a different number of terms in different historical periods and geographical regions. If so, the nature of 'universality' can only be understood after the variation has been defined. Perhaps detailed factual analysis of the 'frequency of use' might force the author to modify his treatment of tekonymy as 'a circumlocutory way of expressing 'embarrassing relationships.' To illustrate this point, reference may be made to some material from the reviewer's own field study in Kaihsienkung village, Wukiang, Kiangsu.

A married woman is introduced to her husband's relatives soon after the wedding ceremony. In the introduction she addresses them in the same manner as does her husband, except her father-in-law, whom she calls *cinpa*, and the wife of her husband's brother, whom she calls by the same term as her own sister. At the beginning of her married life she is a new comer and refrains from making intimate and frequent contacts with her husband's relatives. But when she must address them, she uses her husband's system of terms. When a child is born to her, her contacts with her husband's relatives increase on behalf of her child. She also has the obligation to teach her child, who is constantly attached to her. Kinship terminology is a part of this education. On these occasions, when making

inquiries for or about her child and teaching her child to recognize relationships, she uses the terms that should be used by her child. For instance, she will call her father-in-law *d'iad'ia*, the term for 'grandfather,' in this context. But this does not mean the abandonment of the special term *cinpa*, which is used on other occasions. In fact, she has a choice of her own special term, and her child's term, according to the context.

This does not mean advancing a theory against that of the author, but trying to show by concrete facts that the problem of tekonymy cannot be studied without its context of speech. But it has not been possible for the author to analyse his material in the same way, because it is not possible to reconstruct the historical context. Moreover, the literary terms, on which the present work is based, are usually not part of ordinary speech. In other words, the literary terms are used in a quite different context from the spoken terms. The author has made the distinction in the beginning, but has given no further analysis on this point.

This criticism raises the problem of the general method of approach to Chinese kinship studies. Dr. Feng has now demonstrated the best possible result of the historical-literary approach. But even with his critical attitude towards the material, his generalizations, as illustrated by the above example, cannot be accepted in their present form. However, it is to be hoped that this 'preliminary work' (as he has termed it himself) will lead the author to reflect upon the fundamental problem in methodology when he comes to what he calls 'the more implicit aspects of the system.'

FEI HSIAO-TUNG.

Report of the First Scientific Exhibition to Manchoukuo, June-October, 1933. Section VI:

154 Anthropology. Part I: Contribution to the Prehistoric Archaeology of Southern Jehol, Yawata, Ichiro: Chemical Investigation of a Bronze from near Pei-piao in Chao-yang, Dono, Tsurumatsu. Harbin, July, 1935. Part II: Palaeolithic Artifacts from Ho-chia-kou, Ku-hsiang-tung, Tokunaga, Shigenasu and Naora, Nobuo. Harbin, July, 1936.

The most considerable investigations of Manchoukuo have up to now been those of R. Torii, Père B. Licent, and Russians such as Tolmachev at Harbin. Now the Japanese are undertaking the work systematically.

Part I is almost all devoted to neolithic remains, particularly pottery. It joins on to Andersson's discoveries. The four main classes are a coarse brown corded ware, wheelmade slip ware painted, grey and black Han pottery, and a later reddish-brown ware. They show that the types familiar in Ho-nan and Chih-li spread, as might be expected, through Jehol into Manchuria. Mr. Tono's bronze-stand seems to belong to the time of the Warring States. The bronze contains 21 per cent. of lead and only 8 per cent. of tin. Such a proportion of lead is rare though not unexampled.

Part II exhibits many artifacts mostly in bone, some in stone, of the style we are learning to expect from under the loess. They represent a peculiar far Eastern upper palaeolithic corresponding only rather roughly to Magdalenian and Aurignacian in the West.

Each part has about 100 pp. of Japanese text with figures in it, a reasonable English summary, and some 25 to 30 plates with English descriptions. These helps to the Western reader are very welcome.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

EGYPT.

The Egyptian Gods. By Alan W. Shorter. London: Kegan Paul. xxiii + 143 pp. Price 3s. 6d.

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This is a small handbook for the general reader, designed to give accounts of the Egyptian deities culled from texts of all kinds and periods together with explanatory matter of the usual kind brought up to date. Extracts from the ancient literature, consisting largely of hymns, give point and added interest to some of the more important matters. The book does not claim to be historical and thus lacks the sense of growth from primitive status; no attempt has been made to give definition to the word *neter*, pictured in hieroglyphs as a flag and translated by us as 'god.' The gods themselves are treated as individual entities, connected mostly with cosmic elements; the status of many as patrons of districts receives mention, but without explanation of how they came to be received into the Solar circle; the chief example of this process may be seen in Horus, the god of the conquering Falcon-tribe, who is here described, in the usual convention, as an aspect of the Sun-god.

Sun-worship is portrayed as dominating the land from the earliest times, spreading from its centre at Heliopolis; all the details of Egyptian religion are referred to it. This dominance is treated as a simply natural development, since the sun was recognized as the principal phenomenon of natural life, giver not only of heat and light, but also of life itself, ripening the crops. This is a very natural explanation for the moderns who possess a clear knowledge of solar powers, which was not, however, shared by early man, and, in fact, the great beneficial factor of the Egyptian world has always been the Nile-flood which is still revered as 'blessed' by the Muslim peasant of to-day. A common feeling towards the sun is recoil from its great heat, clearly shown in ancient texts, and always present in the modern countryman. Its worship began, as the author says, in one place, Heliopolis (*On*), a fact which indicates that in the beginning its beneficial character was not understood generally, as it came to be in later ages. Babylonia affords a parallel example, for there two cities, Larsa and Sippar, had the sun as their patron-god, but its cult never spread to dominate the land; Marduk, god of Babylon, was the supreme deity, following the political supremacy of that city. The moon, as Jastrow shows, had precedence in godship over the sun; he even suggests that the Semitic name for sun (*Shamash*) may indicate that it was but a 'follower' of the moon—a suggestion repeated by the late H. R. Hall to whose memory this book is dedicated.

In Egypt the spread of the sun-cult was doubtless due, like that of Babylon, to the political supremacy gained by the Heliopolitans in prehistoric times. The cult might have lost supremacy but for the fact that the learned priests of On had studied deeply the sun's ways, and thereby constructed a calendar, and could foretell the seasons and, most important of all, the rising of the Nile on which the prosperity of all the land was based. On this point an interesting piece of evidence occurs in late Roman times when Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII, xv, 30), giving a fairly near explanation of the scenes depicted on the walls of tombs, relates that they were executed by men skilful in the mysteries by which they foretold the seasons of the flood. A parallel case is that of the Aztecs, whose chief god was connected with rain, but who, on conquering Mexico, adopted the sun-god from some of the conquered tribes and their neighbours, because his adherents could provide them with data needed for making the Aztec Calendar or Book of Fate; there, too, the moon as deity had precedence over the

sun: other local gods the Aztecs 'imprisoned': (Lewis Spence, *The Gods of Mexico*, pp. 13, 306).

The godship of the king is mentioned by Mr. Shorter, especially in connexion with Akhenaten, but rather too scantily. It formed, in fact, one of the most fundamental elements in Egyptian belief, carried so far that the king was sometimes actually depicted as making offerings to himself. When the Solar cult gained supremacy, king-worship was perforce attached to it, a process which the primitive local cults had equally to undergo.

The animal shapes of gods cannot evidently be connected with the Solar cult, and the author has suggested for them a late and almost casual origin, with a development into the gross exaggeration of the latest times. But we must surely see in these shapes the evidence of a very early kind of totemism, which did not develop into any of the more complicated systems known to the modern anthropologist. The proto-dynastic palettes provide strong evidence, and if the system scarcely survives in the records, that is because it was submerged beneath the sun-cult when it became the official court-form of religion; but when, with the wreck of the Pharaonic system, the official cult lost its power, animal-worship sprang once more into the open, as has happened in other realms on the suppression of popular cults. In its new liberty it took on exaggerated forms that aroused the wonder and ridicule of the Greek and Roman world, but even in full Pharaonic times, as the author mentions (p. 36), a cat and a dove could be given worship on a lasting monument.

Of Akhenaten and his heretical movement the author has given a good sketch, clear and sufficiently full, with no trace of the sentimentality which has too often marked earlier accounts; he explains, for the first time, as it seems, in a popular handbook, the historical circumstances of the movement, with their background of Heliopolitan politics.

The author's remarks on Osiris are moulded on the old idea of his being the bestower of a personal after-life of bliss. As I have indicated a very different conclusion (MAN, 1937, 186, 200), I need not repeat it here, but will only remark that this view seems to be greatly coloured by modern ideas of a paradise in heaven. For the ancient Egyptian, like primitive peoples in general, had no doubt about a future life for his incorporeal self; the real object of his ardent desire was that his after-life should be a rich and happy one; his paradise, as the older tombs show, was of an earthly kind, such as he understood, full of fat fields and beasts, and enlivened with the social luxuries of his day; his greatest dread, displayed in many texts, was to be left in his after-life with no provision of food and other bodily wants, compelled thereby to become a wretched and malevolent ghost, prowling round the streets and picking up abominable filth for food, a constant terror to the Egyptian mother. The idea of a heavenly paradise came later, when the sun-god reigned supreme and it was the ambition of kings and courtiers and later of the commons to enjoy their paradise in the solar realms and even to become stars. Only the sun-god could procure them such delights; not Osiris, whose main duty was to secure blessings for the living; that he became further the Great Judge of the After-world was a natural destiny for one who entered it as the greatest of Egyptian kings and who ranked there, accordingly, as Supreme Ruler or, in their phrase, Chief of the Westerners. The pomp and glory attending a king's entrance into paradise are vividly described in the *Pyramid Texts*: they are, as might be expected, of a quite worldly kind but may well be compared with Baroque pictures of royal apotheoses.

The book ends with a list and short description of the principal deities which should be useful for identifying them on the monuments or figurines or amulets.

In a popular book it is doubtless desirable to insert but few references, but in one like the present a certain number is really necessary; they should further be of as easy access as possible for the benefit of the inexpert, to whom references to papyri or stelæ in various museums are of almost no use. To one anxious to pursue further the subject of this book the lack of accessible references may be a serious obstacle. G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. By Alan Rowe. Cairo: Government of Palestine Department of Antiquities, 1936. Price 25s.

This is a large and important work, much more than a mere catalogue, containing as it does full notes and references about the contacts between Egypt and Canaan at all periods. These are summed up in a useful chronological table and in a graph showing the total of catalogued objects of each period to August, 1934. The latter, however, cannot be taken as a sure guide to the intensity of Egyptian influence in any period, for future work may bring to light finds which would tell a quite different tale. To the chronological table may be added, for late predynastic times, the connexion indicated by the asphalt found at the settlement at Maadi in the excavations conducted by the Egyptian University (Second Preliminary Report for 1932—Cairo, 1936, p. 50). The discoverers name the settlement neolithic but copper in small quantities has been found there (p. 48).

Plates showing the different types of scarabs and their parts will serve as a useful rough guide to excavators and others interested in the matter for dating specimens found or collected; for this purpose the photographs of Pl. XXXV may be specially recommended, but notice should be taken of the large extent of similarity in type shown in various periods, sometimes widely separated in time.

An excellent feature is the plenitude of references provided on practically every point or issue; they are not all of equal value, and some discrimination on this point might have been advisable, though, of course, Egyptological students are likely to be well aware of the degree of soundness or otherwise of each.

The find-spot, when known, is recorded in each case and a special advantage for the students of the material is that a very large proportion of it was derived from well-conducted excavations. The book is in fact indispensable for such students, while for the more general reader interested in Palestinian history the many details of historical character drawn from Egyptian sources will have much value. Further interest for him will also be found in a feature too often lacking in Egyptological works, the translation of names, especially royal, which brings us closer to the spiritual atmosphere of those ancient days.

It is regrettable that in absolute dating the system adopted by the Cambridge Ancient History has been accepted, for it was founded on a mere compromise and seems now to have been everywhere abandoned. Though absolute dating in any region may be of little moment in itself, it is all important when brought into relation with dates in other regions.

The classification distinguishes between seals and seal-amulets, the latter being scarabs bearing amuletic animals or the Horus-eye on their backs instead of the usual beetle-features. But this treatment ignores the essentially

amuletic origin of scarabs whose use as seals was secondary, the stamp-seal being, in fact, the usual one in Egypt; the cylinder, a foreign importation, had a similar origin and secondary use, but its vogue in Egypt died down comparatively early (see the article on "A Temple Seal" in *Ancient Egypt and the East*, December, 1934).

This is hardly the place to discuss the more purely Egyptological details of the book, but attention might be drawn to two points touching on the borders of anthropology. First, in the discussion on p. 233 of the Sharon cylinder (S. 1), the meaning given to the hieroglyph transliterated as *ka akh* denotes a radical miscomprehension of the *ka*, following old conceptions which had not the advantage of the light now obtainable from recent research. The *ka* was a spiritual entity entering the body on birth and leaving it at death, when a man is said 'to meet his *ka*'; it is probable that it was originally an ancestral spirit connected with the placenta, as a vehicle from which to serve as a guardian spirit to the person during his life (see the article "A further note on the *ka*" in *Ancient Egypt*, Dec., 1929, with which may be compared a Japanese belief reported by Professor Seligman, MAN, 1938, 18). The hieroglyph itself, as Sethe has shown (*Dramatische Texte*, II—*Ramesseum Papyrus*—p. 97 and sec. 11 and onwards) represents a class of priests or temple-ministers who, at the burial ceremonies of a king, played the parts of the divine beings who helped him to heaven by raising the celestial ladder, and so on.

Secondly, scarab no. 254 (p. 66), attributed to the Hyksos period, bears a name which is translated, with some hesitation, as 'King of Upper Egypt, he who belongs to the ass,' the animal symbolical of Set; the name of Ombos seems to be added, the city in Upper Egypt which was the capital of the district of the original Set tribe. Now the ass was by far the most useful animal to the early Egyptians, who knew neither camel nor horse, and it seems strange that it should symbolize in any way the god Set considered as the Satan of the Egyptian Olympus, that fallen star who had once been the lord of a mighty tribe and the full equal of Horus. In the East, indeed, the ass had high honour for its strength and endurance; its name was given to an ancient Arab hero, Homar, as an honorific title, recalling the Canaanite prince Hamor—Hebrew for 'great jackass'—who fell to the guile of Jacob's sons (Gen. xxxiii and xxxiv). The reading of the riddle may perhaps be discoverable in the texts of the Ramesseum Papyrus mentioned above, for there many of the objects sacrificed for the benefit of the dead king were identified with Set or some of his members and, in similar symbolism, he is shown, as a beast of burden, compelled to bow his back and carry the king to heaven, acting as an ass. The same texts (pp. 195-6, sec. 85) show the furnishing of the king with testicles to ensure that he shall be physically perfect in his paradisaical after-life. For this purpose the miserable Set must again be used, and deprived accordingly of that organ. The ritual action was purely symbolical, but it may well have served as the source of the tales of similar treatment of Set by Horus in the course of their fights: it points, moreover, very markedly to the materialistic outlook of the ancient Egyptians; they seem quite unable to envisage the immaterial.

The Plates, in collotype, are admirably printed and very complete; they should satisfy the most exigent researcher. The price, too, in view of this quality, is remarkably low, especially compared with that of the usual publications of the *Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, which has produced this very desirable book.

G. D. H.

PSYCHOLOGY.

Psychology down the Ages. By Prof. C. Spearman.
 London: Macmillan, 1937. 2 vols. xi + 454 pp.
 and viii + 355 pp. Price 30s.

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What an amazing object-lesson the history of psychology reveals. Here we find all down the ages men of the highest intelligence going to great trouble to know what is going on in the human mind; they introspect, they ask themselves and each other questions, they experiment with the thresholds of sensation, with the function of remembering, with every conceivable aspect of cognition, and at the end of it all the question arises in their thoughts 'what is the mind?' Those who begin with a philosophical question end, of course, with another question, and (as nearly always is the case) with as vague a one as that with which they began. If the starting-point is sensation the answer is also in terms of sensation, and this seems to lead nowhere.

In recent decades the situation has improved. The psychologists studying sensation have found they have something useful to give to those working on the physiology of the special senses; those who worked on memory found they could contribute to the educationalists; the experimental psychologists were of use in industry and to the fighting forces. When psychology left the cloister for the market place, i.e., acquired an interest in practical affairs, it not only took on a new lease of life but gave something to mankind, and as a result of that momentous step we have something solid to deal with.

Professor Spearman's work on *The Abilities of Man, their Nature and Measurement, The Nature of Intelligence, and the Principles of Cognition* are the result of plain thought applied to subtle problems, and the two volumes now reviewed are an application of his good-humoured commonsense applied to the toil of his colleagues down the ages. At long last a few things are beginning to emerge. Starting not from the promptings of philosophical speculation but from practical observations, the new spirit in psychology asks the question 'what goes with what?' and then reaches out to the next 'what follows what?' In a word, one of the methods of science began to be applied to the mind. Among the outstanding results of this method, which readily lends itself to statistical treatment, is Professor Spearman's segregation of mental factors for *G* or General, and *S* or Special Intelligence; the discussion of these researches already covers a wide literature. The important thing is that something emerges which was not immediately apparent in the material of observation, and that something has a use both in theory and practice.

At this point the anthropologist may well ask, 'Will this "something" be of any use to me?' and the answer is that what has been obtained by the methods of science in one field may be of use in another field, for the methods of science are common to all. Apart from such grand generalizations, which get us nowhere, there is another feature in psychological development which needs elaboration.

There are really two kinds of psychologies, that made by people who study problems of the mind and another sort to which the academicians will hardly grant the name of psychology at all. There are people who are employed (paid by the hour) to deal with what goes on in the mind of their clients. These employers do not ask for (or pay for) research into all the interesting difficulties of cognition, not a bit of it. These employers are nervous, they cannot sleep, they have lost the capacity for love, they feel so full of guilt as to be unworthy to be called human but come for help because they are a burden to their loved ones, they are sick with jealousy, their capacity for work is disappearing and they

feel that they are 'going to pieces.' The employees (who are doctors by profession and I suppose psychologists by courtesy) if they go about their work of cure properly, have to discover what is going on beneath the surface of their employers' minds and to get them to realize that they harbour impulses of which they are greatly afraid. An employment so delicate inevitably leads to the closest observation of human mood and behaviour.

Two things have emerged from this work; the first is that the human mind undergoes a complicated development; the second is that the characteristic of the emotional life of the human being is that he is oriented to two objects at a time; if he takes pleasure in an object in many cases his conscience begins to speak (the conscience can play the part of an object in mental life); in love-making he is apt to be apprehensive, jealous, swaggering, deceitful, and investigation shows that the shadow of past conflicts falls across his most prized joys. Again and again it is found that attachment to objects of interest in the past hinders the complete absorption in objects in the present, and of course the many-coloured experiences of the past also lend 'depth' to present happiness and give consolation to present sorrows.

These two 'discoveries' are not new, they have been known 'down the ages,' but the way in which mental pain shapes the outlook, and causes the mind to erect elaborate defences against it—this is new. The outstanding contribution of medicine to psychology is the recognition of the importance of the role of mental pain in mental development and its consequences in mental life. This discovery, and the theories to explain the phenomenon, is Freud's contribution to science. In the two books before us the author has not been able to 'place' this work or use it.

The mind is not like the other objects of scientific study, and it does not easily give up its secrets to introspection; therefore neither the lone worker nor the questioner can get far into the heart of his material, the reason being that at every turn he is faced with the barriers set up to guard against mental pain, a series of inner—unconscious—taboos restricting the free movement of his curiosity. Perhaps also it is because the mind is so persistently oriented to two objects at a time that it is hard to avoid self-consciousness in introspection or when being observed, by which I mean that it is hard to distinguish between what the person himself actually desires, and what he thinks he ought to desire. Perhaps psychology and anthropology share these problems of the barrier set up against mental pain and the complexity introduced by the double-object orientation; if so a study of the woes of the psychologist may be useful to the anthropologist. If there is this common ground, and it is realized, then the two disciplines should be in a position to help each other greatly.

It would be desirable for someone to write an 'Anthropology down the Ages'; he would do well to use this book as a model for his method of approach, provided that the ground was covered fully.

JOHN RICKMAN.

Dreams in Old Norse Literature and their Affinities in Folklore. With an Appendix containing the Icelandic Texts and Translations. By G. D. Kelchner. Cambridge University Press, 1935. 8vo. x + 154 pp., bibliography. Price 10s. 6d.

Dreams, which, when understood, may be, as many folk believe, the surest guide to human conduct, and, when misunderstood, appear to be the least rational of all the ingenious products of the mind, must, like all

other human activities, have tools to work with. These tools are found largely in the dreamer's physical and cultural environment. Modern research, while abandoning except in very limited degree the early psychoanalytic belief in constant symbols, recognizes none the less the essential similarity throughout the world of individual reactions, shown in dreams not so much in the use of any given symbol as in the type of symbol, so that, however the individual images employed may change with changing environment, the types of symbol and of latent content remain comparatively constant.

Thus, for example, in a dream of which the latent content is escape, the flight motive would seem universal. But while we, in a materialistic age, would fly down stairs or take an aeroplane, the Melanesian turns himself into a flying fox, which to him represents a friendly ancestral ghost, thus joining to the motive of escape that of an effortless future life in terms of culturally inherited belief. So, in this extremely interesting collection of Norse dreams, Miss Kelchner gives us the familiar types dressed up in the accoutrements of arctic animals combined with a great range of mythological associations, which, together with objects of material value, build up the conditioned framing of the dreams.

From the point of view of individual analysis these are of little value, since, from their very appearance in heroic literature and folklore, they have clearly been selected by a process of elimination of the more personal elements so as to present a picture readily understandable by the general community—so much so that in many cases they assume the rather naïf character of animistic allegory. This very fault, however, heightens their interest to the anthropologist in that it emphasizes very strongly their cultural significance, and, to the psychologist, provides the interesting spectacle of mass belief reflected in what is possibly its least critical, and therefore probably, most genuine form.

Fetches, guardian spirits, trolls and gods, as well as living and dead persons and inanimate treasure, all find their place in this fascinating gallery of symbolic images. Those interested in such matters as the appearance in fetch guise of "the inherent soul . . . almost always in the form of an animal" whose "character coincides, in some salient feature or features with the qualities and characteristics of the person to whom it belongs, or, especially in cases of hostility, with the attitude of its owner towards the dreamer," as well as in the various mother-images (benevolent and otherwise) seen in the trolls and guardian spirits, and numerous other forms familiar to ourselves, here coloured by Norse ideology, will do well not to miss this book; and some may even go so far as to draw conclusions as to the partial origin of such mythical figures in the dream-symbols themselves.

Omens and prophetic dreams hold prominent positions in the series, and especial interest attaches to the change in character of the dreams as the political and religious setting alters, from the opening phase of Icelandic settlement and territorial disputes up to the socially unifying but individually disruptive influence of Christianity, mirrored in the less extravagant and more guilty character of the dream and the dream-symbols. Many examples are given of the progressive degradation of symbols owing to the weakening of old belief, and of the transformation of others into new forms, as well as of the introduction of extraneous symbols due to foreign service in the courts of Europe.

The arrangement of the book could not be clearer. Each type of symbol is discussed as it appears, firstly in literature and then in folklore, preceded by a lucid exposition of historical background and followed by

texts of the dreams themselves with parallel translations an index and full bibliography. JOHN LAYARD

Psychomental Complex of the Tungus. By S. M. Shirokogoroff. London: Kegan Paul, Trench

159 Trubner & Co., 1935. xvi + 460 pp. Price £2 10s.

That this weighty tome is the result of much original observation and thought is undeniable, it must, however, be admitted that much of the latter remains obscure. This is in part due to the method of presentation and in part to the language—the author is a Russian, and has written in English, for which we must be grateful and accept the limitations that a foreign language imposes.

Professor Shirokogoroff's theory of ethnography both as regards its content and method is too complicated to be dealt with here, but one important factor in it, that the ethnologist should be aware of his own culture complex and its implications before he can hope to analyse any foreign culture, is surely not so unacceptable an idea as he appears to suppose, and it is unnecessary that reference to it should be repeated so frequently. Undoubtedly it should be an axiom for field workers.

According to the author, the psychomental complex is made up of those 'cultural elements which consist of psychic and mental reactions on milieu.' Unfortunately the word 'complex' is used so often and in so many different ways that it is impossible to discover the meaning apart from the context.

In describing the Tungus culture Professor Shirokogoroff takes into full consideration their reactions to their neighbours, the Manchus, Chinese and Russians. Their culture is far from simple—certain beliefs, the social structure, and varying environmental factors bring into prominence a pronounced psychological type which may be considered as crystallized in the person and behaviour of the Shaman.

As I have had the advantage of observing ceremonies embodying some of the essential elements of shamanism in peoples so different ethnically and with such varying environmental background as the Veddas, Sinhalese villagers, and Sudanese soldiers, I may call attention to the close correspondence of these to the shamanistic ceremonies of the Tungus. In all cases ecstasy was brought about by rhythmic movements, singing and drumming (the Veddas, who have no drums, beat the abdomen); there is no doubt of the genuineness of the autohypnotic condition produced. In all cases spirits entered the performers, who spoke in a changed voice. At some period in the ceremony the performer fell to the ground apparently unconscious. In all a sacrifice was made, and in all special 'properties' are necessary. The purpose of all ceremonies is to make contact with spirits and to cure disease or avert misfortune.

Professor Shirokogoroff uses a convenient term for the special properties that are necessary for the spirits to rest on or enter, viz., 'placings,' these differ greatly both as regards form and material, in the different ethnic groups, but though they may be anthropomorphic in form and offerings be made to them they are not sacred—the offerings are only made when the spirits have become immanent. Deference may, however, be shown to the placings of malevolent spirits. Icons, Chinese pictures, or living animals may all be placings. Spirits feed on the immaterial products of the sacrifice; thus, incense, smoke fumes, and the products of putrefaction are particularly pleasing.

A shaman cannot deal with and master a spirit until it has occupied its 'placing.' It is noteworthy that such 'placings' are important in the Ceylon ceremonies, where a whole day may be spent in building elaborate objects of traditional forms.

Professor Shirokogoroff lays stress upon the emotional and aesthetic effect of the ceremonies on the audience and the central part that they play in the life of the Tungus. Insanity may be due to a spirit using a human body as a 'placing.'

A condition called by the Tungus *olong* is socially recognized; it might be looked upon as an 'imitative mania,' and only in very rare cases is this condition regarded as pathological. Mass 'olonism' may occur in certain situations. This phenomenon he maintains has a social function without which the life of the Tungus would be impoverished. The theory that spirits exist, may enter human beings, and may act when in possession of their bodies, is correlated with seven types of habitual traditional behaviour which might be considered abnormal in other societies. Persons showing some of these peculiarities may become

shamans if they can prove their power to master the spirits.

Both men and women may become shamans; the best shamans are believed to be those who have shamism on both sides of the family. With dual organization and cross-cousin marriage, there is tendency for shamanism to be hereditary though this is not an essential factor in the transmission of the function. Comparison with the Veddas is here inevitable. Their social organization and the beliefs are similar, and shamanism is a central feature of their culture, but nothing comparable with olonism or mass hysteria has been observed among them.

In spite of the size and weight of the volume, the obscurity of the language, and the complexity of theory and arrangement, this work is undoubtedly a valuable analysis of a peculiarly interesting culture.

B. Z. SELIGMAN.

GENERAL.

Environment, Race and Migration: Fundamentals of human distribution: with special sections on racial classification; and settlement in Canada and Australia. By Griffith Taylor, D.Sc.,

Head of the Department of Geography in the University of Toronto. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. (London, Oxford University Press) 1937. 453 pp., 160 illustrations.

A new book by Griffith Taylor is always welcome, as it is sure to be written with breadth and freshness of outlook and with a sufficient amount of scientific data and statistical information to give weight to his conclusions. This new book is based on his *Environment and Race* (1927) and the general scheme is the same. Indeed very numerous paragraphs have been bodily transferred, sometimes without checking all the statements; for example, the Massim are allocated to the Solomon Islands (p. 61) though correctly, in new matter, to Papua (p. 106). The new portions of the book incorporate facts of importance that have been published since the earlier book was written. As both books owe the masterly survey of Australian conditions to Griffith Taylor's residence in Australia, so this book in chapters xxii-xxv reflects similar studies in his later environment. To save space, certain sections of the earlier book are omitted, such as the inland exploration of Australia, but these omissions are not important.

The general theory of human development and distribution is the same as that which the author has expressed in various publications. It is that of Zones and Strata, or Age and Area, which, briefly, is that primitive races persist in the marginal lands, precisely where they did not evolve. W. D. Matthew maintains that the higher mammals gradually evolved in Central Asia, and the less specialized were consecutively pushed out. This thesis is adopted by Griffith Taylor for the human stock. As the main criterion, he takes the cephalic index and finds marginal zones of low dolicocephaly with zones of increasing headbreadth to the high brachycephaly of Central Asia. He is of opinion (p. 269) "that in all probability racial traits were determined in the million years spent by the developing stocks in Central Asia. It is the climatic changes here which are all-important. Most races (excluding, perhaps, the negroes and negrito) spent, shall we say, nine-tenths of their biological life in Asia, and only one-tenth in the habitats where we now find them." On pp. 66, 67 Griffith Taylor describes his 'ethnographs' (which combine several physical characters) in diagrams, and by means of these he gives a visual impression of the similarities and differences, geographically, of widely separated ethnic types. "Only the spreading of

"racial zones from a common cradle-land (roughly halfway between the two) can possibly explain their biological affinities."

It is inevitable that in the very wide range of fact and interpretation surveyed by Griffith Taylor there should be certain statements that cannot be endorsed by every student; thus (pp. 9, 174) allusion is made to small groups in Wales which are stated to be essentially allied to Neanderthal man, but Fleure, who discovered this type, regards it as early Neanthropic man. It is also suggested (p. 134) that a Neanderthaloid type lived in Southern Asia and gave rise to the negroes far back in the Pleistocene. Where there is so much that is of value in this book, it seems ungenerous to draw attention to discussible points, and therefore no more need be said about them. What is of prime importance to anthropologists is the clear presentation of past and present geographical settings, structural and climatic, in which the differentiation of human types took place, and also the barriers and corridors that impeded the movements of peoples. These are illustrated by many clever diagrams which will prove of the greatest value to students who desire a solid basis for their speculations.

A. C. HADDON.

After Us, or The World as it Might be. By J. P. Lockhart-Mummery, M.B., B.C. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Horder of Ashford. London: (Stanley Paul), 1936. 288 pp. Price 18s.

The proper study of mankind includes his future as well as his past and present. The theory of evolution is much older than Darwin, and has led great thinkers to forecast the future conditions of man; sometimes in deliberate prophecy; at other times in descriptions of an ideal state. Of the brilliant prophecies of H. G. Wells some have come true in his own life-time. J. B. S. Haldane's 'Daedalus' attempts to forecast how scientific progress will affect man's future: it is obviously the parent of Huxley's 'Brave New World' and Lockhart-Mummery's 'After Us.'

Lockhart-Mummery takes a wide interest in population, breeding, food production, work and wages, taxation, town planning, services of power, systems of government, religion, communism, socialism and medicine. He draws early attention to the fact that we have no clue to the evolution of the thinking brain, capable of reasoning and comparing cause with effect, which gave man his opportunity to master his environment. Perhaps too much is made of this and other forms of life are credited with too little reasoning power.

Some of his suggestions are rather naive, such as that cats and snakes were held sacred in Egypt because they destroyed rats which conveyed plague; that for the same reason the snake became the symbol of medicine; and that scarabs were sacred because they ate dung, and so destroyed the larvae of the hookworm. Is there any evidence that prehistoric Egyptians suffered from either of these diseases? He also says that "the people of the Aurignacian Age are said to have averaged a height of 6 feet 3 inches."

Man's continued conquest of his environment will lead to over-population of the world and the consequent danger of extermination by disease or famine. "Surely now that man has discovered the laws of evolution, he can take in hand the control of his own destiny." Either new methods of food production will have to be invented or man will have to check the reproduction of his own species. Both of these processes are in being now. The spread of knowledge of contraception is leading to a fall in the birth-rate in certain countries. Whilst politicians and newspapers shriek in alarm at a falling birth-rate, Lockhart-Mummery looks on thankful to see an escape from early future disaster due to over-crowding. The solution is State control of parentage. Genealogical data will be kept, and breeding allowed only for suitable strains. For purposes of eugenics the records would have to be kept and their housing would occupy enormous space. Genealogy would become a puzzle except to a favoured few who had access to the records. Family names would mean nothing unless we adopted matronymics, in which case possibly some form of matriarchy might also develop. Such complications appear to have been overlooked by Lockhart-Mummery. The divorce between sexual love and child-bearing, on the other hand, is recognized by the author as likely to have "a profound effect upon social habits and human psychology generally." Lockhart-Mummery appears to be unable to envisage the changes which would take place, apart from the increased independence of women.

C. SUFFERN.

Scientific Progress. By Sir James Jeans, Sir William Bragg, Professor E. V. Appleton, Professor E. Mellanby, Professor J. B. S. Haldane and Professor Julian Huxley. London (Allen and Unwin), 1936. 210 pp., pls. 8, and 22 figs. in text. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This is the Sir Halley Stewart Lecture of 1935 and is a symposium or, rather, a hotch-potch of six separate lectures on six separate subjects. Professor J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S., tells us at the beginning of his lecture on *Human Genetics and Human Ideals*: "The object of the Halley Stewart Trust is the investigation of the application of Christian ideals in social life." He also confesses that, where there is conflict between Christianity and science, he is not on the side of the angels.

Sir James Jeans, F.R.S., opens the ball with a lecture on *Man and the Universe*. He shows how Copernicus, Galileo and Newton broke "the tyranny of superstition and magic"; how Darwin put man in his proper place; how Einstein with his theory of relativity jumbled up space and time but could not explain gravitation and so, altering his theory to do so, developed two different theories of time and space for astronomical phenomena and for physical phenomena on a mundane scale. This led to the discarding of Einstein's theory of the universe. Einstein set to work again and produced results which suggested the falsity of the theory of determinism or a mechanistic universe. Bohr's and Rutherford's experiments also tended in the same

direction. The lecturer states that present-day physics, while it cannot definitely disprove the theory of determinism, gives us 'no shadow of a reason' for it. This is an excellent lecture for the small space available and may serve as a useful introduction to such books as Sir Arthur Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World* and Professor D. E. Richmond's *The Dilemma of Modern Physics*.

Sir William Bragg, O.M., F.R.S., lectures on *The Progress of Physical Science* and runs well in harness with Sir James Jeans, dealing mainly with atoms and electrons. As to the question of determinism or free-will, while admitting that "Nature's operations move with machine-like precision and that all her processes, whenever we are able to repeat them, follow the rules of the experimental laboratory," observes that in the laboratory of social life "we feel that we have some control over that we do." But immediately he confesses that "if the lessons of the two laboratories seem to contradict each other . . . the deficiency must be in our own minds, which are unable, at present, to interpret in full what we observe."

The third lecture is by Professor E. V. Appleton, F.R.S., on *The Electricity of the Atmosphere* and includes much interesting information on radio waves, but no moral is drawn to bear on "the application of Christian ideals." Professor E. Mellanby, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., follows with a lecture on *Progress in Medical Science*, which is merely a résumé of medical history from the days of Hammurabi and likewise steers clear of Christian moralizing except for advice to count our blessings. Professor J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S., bursts the bubble of sterilization of the unfit as a cure for racial ill-health. He also discusses the definition of race and asserts that "there is as yet no scientific basis for current dogmatism about racial differences"; hinting at Germany and her 'Aryan' race. Professor Julian Huxley winds up with a lecture on *Science and its Relation to Social Needs*. These needs are very materialistic (mainly industrial) and have very little to do with 'Christian ideals of social life.'

CANNING SUFFERN.

Human Affairs. Edited by R. B. Cattell, J. Cohen and R. M. W. Travers. London: Macmillan & Co., 1937. 359 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

All the social sciences have, in more or less degree, now reached the stage of applied sciences. The three joint editors of this work are keenly aware of the responsibility thus imposed on social scientists. It is their desire to start a monthly journal, *Human Affairs*, which will "bring topical problems into fruitful contact with recent advances in the social and biological sciences." The present volume is intended to pave the way for such a periodical. Its fourteen chapters are written by different specialists, each one showing how far his particular study can, or cannot, contribute to the wise direction of human affairs. Two of the chapters will be of special interest to anthropologists, one by Professor Malinowski on social anthropology and the other by Lord Raglan on physical anthropology.

Professor Malinowski's contribution is entitled *Anthropology as the Basis of Social Science* and is described in the editorial preface as "a chapter which, in the novelty of its viewpoint, is perhaps the most striking in the book." To those already familiar with Professor Malinowski's theory of culture the viewpoint will not seem novel. But this latest exposition of his theoretical approach will be none the less welcome, since it is the most explicit that he has yet published. The reader will be left with no doubts as to the value of the

contribution that social anthropology can make to the social sciences.

In contrast, the chapter by Lord Raglan stresses the limitations of our present knowledge concerning race. He also warns the sociologist against exaggerating the importance of the racial factor. He deals with the forces that continuously and increasingly promote racial intermixture, and is of the opinion that in the end the world will be peopled "if not by a single race, at any rate by so 'mixed' a population that racial distinctions will cease to 'matter.'" This chapter should prove useful to anyone wishing to produce authoritative arguments against pseudo-racial theories created to justify political action.

C. MARGERY LAWRENCE.

Life as a Whole. By J. W. Bews, M.A., D.Sc., Principal of Natal University College. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937. ix + 347 pp. 15s.

164 The title is misleading. The book does not concern 'life as a whole,' but only human life. As the author points out, "the collecting of facts about man, 'if it is to be the greatest amount of use to human 'ecology, must not aim merely at increasing the 'collection as a whole till it reaches a huge size.'" The trouble is that, in science generally, the collection of facts exceeds the attempts at synthesis. This book is an attempt at synthesis. It is open to doubt, however, whether the object has been satisfactorily achieved. In order to synthesize intelligently such an enormous subject as the life and activities of man it is necessary to study many different subjects and to abstract the orthodox skeleton of each, not to seize upon startling and unorthodox salient points, and hypotheses not generally accepted. Far too much prominence is given to such things as a scale of occupations arranged according to standards of intelligence required, in which a librarian lies well below a preacher and a journalist above a lawyer.

An attempt is made to deal with the whole history of philosophy from Thales' time in twelve pages. One result of this is the following sentence: "Lloyd Morgan's 'philosophy is known as that of 'Emergent Evolution'—not another word about the philosopher or his philosophy, except that he finds a place in the index (where his name is hyphenated). Again, Balfour is briefly mentioned as "a defender not so much of philosophical 'doubt as of religious faith' and is immediately dropped. Presumably the reference is to 'Theism and 'Humanism.' On the other hand, neither Maudsley nor his 'Organic to Human' is mentioned. This is not the best way to make a synthesis; but, if each section had a good bibliography, it would make an excellent signpost to introduce the novice to new spheres of study.

CANNING SUFFERN.

Annali Lateranensi, pubblicazione del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico. Vol. 1, *Citta del Vaticano*, 1937.

165 Those in a position to appreciate the richness of the Lateran (Missionary) Ethnographical Museum will hail with delight the first volume of a new publication, the *Annali Lateranensi*, which appears on the tenth anniversary of the inauguration of the Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico del Laterano. The *Annali* is published under the auspices of His Holiness Pope Pius XI, and is edited by the Rev. Father P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. The first part of each annual volume will deal with objects in the Museum and the Library; the second part will consist in the main of articles by mis-

sionaries, reviews and other communications concerning especially the 'spiritual cultures' (*culture spirituale*) of the peoples of the mission field and their religious and social conditions, including articles on economic life, material culture and linguistics. Contributions will be received in English, French, German, Italian, Latin and Spanish.

Volume I well implements this programme. It begins with an illustrated article by Father Maachalkorweerd, describing native Christian sculpture from the mission field, now in the Lateran Museum, i.e., crucifixes, Madonnas and other sculptures of a religious character, but excluding objects made in mission schools. This excellent paper is followed by a description of cult-figures from Aberdeen (Hongkong) by the late Father D. J. Finn, S.J., and an account of a curious piece of Inca ironwork by Father Schulien, S.V.D. A list of recent acquisitions to the Museum and Library concludes Part I.

Part II contains an article on the religion of the Galla by the Rev. Father Schmidt, who has for many years been studying the religious beliefs of the Hamitic peoples; "Puericulture magique en Annam," by L. Cadière, and a description of the religion of the Acholi by A. Negri, the last containing new information about the beliefs of this little-known tribe. From China comes an article by P. J. Dols, C.M.I., on calendar customs in Kansu province. Obituary notices, reviews and a list of papers appearing in current numbers of a selected number of anthropological journals conclude a most useful and stimulating publication.

C. G. S.

Miscegenation: a study of the biological sources of inheritance of the South African European population. By George Findlay. Pretoria, 1936. 48 pp.

166 This little pamphlet discusses the 'colour bar' and how it works in South Africa. In three of the four Provinces of the Union legal marriages between whites and blacks can be contracted, but in the Transvaal there is no machinery for such marriages. It appears that the number of such marriages is about 90 per year. Laws passed about 1903 prohibited miscegenation of European women but not of European men. These remained in force until 1927, when all illicit relations between Europeans and natives were prohibited, but it appears that this law is not strictly enforced. The large mixed population dating back many generations serves as a bridge between the two pure races, because they produce many segregates which can intermarry with both and so lengthen the bridge. The product of a first cross is now regarded as a calamity and a misfit because, apart from their biological inheritance, they are out of harmony with the social and traditional inheritance of both races.

The population of South Africa in 1935 is estimated at 8,600,000, consisting of 1,900,000 classed as Europeans, 600,000 'coloured' and 6,100,000 natives. The 'coloured' contains all degrees of white blood and should show a spectrum of segregates from pure black to pure white. The writer shows statistically that the lighter coloured elements are missing because they pass as Europeans. He estimates that at least 733,000 now belong in this category. Other evidence indicates that in the ten years 1911-21 some 87,000 offspring of 'coloured' successfully passed as Europeans. Such 'escapes' frequently take high positions in the professions, science, politics and in society. Other topics discussed are mating preferences in the population, and the rate at which fusion is taking place.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Dated Statuette of Centeotl.

167 SIR,—In *The Myths of Mexico and Peru* (London, (1913) by Lewis Spence, there is figured (plate facing p. 90) a statuette of Centeotl. It does not appear where the statuette is nor where it was found, but it is stated to be from a photo by Mansell and Co. Spence does not comment on the plate but it clearly bears a date. On the back of the statuette, near the shoulder, is a rather indistinct day-sign with two numerical dots, the whole reading 2 Cuetzpalin. Lower down the back of the statuette is the date 4 Calli. The figure seems to be Aztec work and that being so there would not be any distinct sign to indicate a year date as there would be in a Mixtec inscription, so that at first sight we would seem only to have two dates, each of which could recur every 260 days. However, as 4 Calli could be a year sign and 2 Cuetzpalin could not, and as it seems to be usual to put the sign for the year below that of the day, it is justifiable to read the whole inscription as indicating the day 2 Cuetzpalin in a year 4 Calli. As the years were named from the day on which the first day of the month Toxcatl fell, this date would be 2 Cuetzpalin 2 Teotleco (year) 4 Calli, which could only occur three times within the limits of Aztec history (1325-1521), namely, on the following dates in the Julian calendar—20th October, 1405, 7th October, 1457, 24th September, 1509.

The first of these would fall in the reign of Huitzililuitl and may safely be excluded because at that time the Aztec were a weak and insignificant people, unlikely to leave any monuments after them. The next would be in the reign of Montezuma I and the last in that of Montezuma II. Both of these rulers were powerful and it might be thought that the date in the reign of Montezuma II was the most probable from the accounts we have of his wealth and his devotion to his gods. However, it is intended to show in the present paper that the earlier date is the true one.

Now Centeotl was the god (or goddess) of the maize plant, and has been well compared by Captain T. A. Joyce (Mexican Archaeology, 1st Edition, p. 231) to God E. of the Maya codices who similarly seems to have had a rather passive character. In the month Ochpaniztli a woman was sacrificed and from her skin there was made for the priest of Centeotl a mask which was finally deposited on a hostile frontier. As the festival of Ochpaniztli when the woman was sacrificed was, like all the Aztec monthly festivals, held on the last day of the month, the deposit of the mask must have been in the following month, Teotleco, the month of the date on our statuette. Incidentally, this is a confirmation of the correctness of the reading of the date. The Codex de 1576 records that there was a famine in the year 2 Acatl (1455) and that two years afterwards in the year 4 Calli (1457) the maize sprouted everywhere. But this is one of the possible dates of the inscription. The special emphasis on the maize plant, which is shown in the Codex, is strong evidence that the statuette dates from that year when it would be most appropriate to dedicate a statuette to Centeotl, the god of maize. This famine, of about four years' duration in the reign of Montezuma I, is also recorded by Chimalpahin and other writers and from its severity it made a deep impression on the Aztec. It is true that Sahagun says the Aztec believed that a famine occurred in every year 1 Tochtli (the year before 2 Acatl) and it is also true that while the Annals of Cuauhtitlan record this famine, which they date in the years 1454 to 1456, they also record a famine ending in the year 1 Tochtli (1506).

This would be near the other possible date of the statuette but it lacks the complete agreement afforded by the date in the Codex de 1576. In any case this later famine is not recorded by the other sources so, if it occurred at all, it was probably a less severe one. Also there is the possibility that the entry in the Annals of Cuauhtitlan may be a duplication of the earlier record as seems to have happened in the case of some other events recorded in those annals.

I think, therefore, that the date 7th October, 1457, may be accepted for the statuette and, if so, it is an interesting case of a historically dated Aztec inscription.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

Alternate Generations in Wales. (Cf. MAN, 1931, 214; 1938, 31.)

168 SIR,—Professor Hocart's references to 'Alternate Generations' in Fiji and Egypt seem to enhance the significance of an analogous recognition of affinity between grandfather and grandson nearer home. It has been usual in Wales to name an eldest child either after its paternal grandfather or after both its grandfathers or grandmothers. This custom has been dying out rapidly during the present century, but the suitability of the grand-parents' names still receives first consideration when naming an eldest child, in many parts of the Principality, and, if a new name is finally decided upon, the names of one or both grandfathers (or grandmothers) are frequently appended to it. I know of several instances where grand-parents have felt insulted by the non-observance of the custom, and in one case (West Glamorganshire) a young couple parted, because the husband insisted upon naming their eldest daughter after her two grandmothers. Each parent came independently to their nonconformist minister requesting him to christen the child under different names. The prevalence of the custom during the nineteenth century may be exemplified by the fact that the six married children of my great-grandfather (East Carmarthenshire) named their eldest sons after him as shown below.

No definite reason is given for the custom except that 'it is the usual thing to do,' or that 'it is a sign of respect for the grandfather,' and I have heard of its being done with the hope that the grandfather will recognize his affinity with his namesake when making his will!

University College of Wales,
Aberystwyth.

ALWYN D. REES.

NAMES IN FAMILY OF DAFYDD SIACI DAFYDD

I.	II.	III.	IV.
Dafydd Siaci Dafydd	Isaac	Dafydd	Isaac ?
		Samuel	??
		Mari	—
		Marged	?
Dafydd	Dafydd	Dafydd	Dafydd Thomas
		Samuel	Rhys John
		Rhys	—

I.	II.	III.	IV.
Dafydd Siact Dafydd —cont.	Dafydd —cont.	Ann	Gwladys Winifred Gwendoline
		Mari	—
	John	Dafydd	Emrys Thomas Isiah Glanville Brinley
	Thomas	Dafydd	Thomas John Elizabeth Daniel Gwladys Annie Jane Blodwen Mary Kate May Alice
			Thomas
			Maglona Islwyn Elizabeth Hannah Elam
			Daniel
			Matilda Claudia Alun Dorothy
			Samuel
			John Rhys
			John Hopcyn
			Elizabeth
			Mary
			Alwyn David Tydfil Myrddin Brinley
	Rhys	Dafydd	—
		Samuel	Rhys
		Elizabeth	—
	Mari	Dafydd	Glyn
		Ann	—
	Daniel	—	—
	Samuel	—	—
	Marged	—	—

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Sir,—What Mr. Alwyn D. Rees describes has been the custom in my own family, since the early seventeenth century, in Walney Island and Furness, till my great-grandfather moved to Preston, Lancashire. The names which alternate are John and Miles, like Thomas and Dafydd in the family of Mr. Rees.

But the *second* son always takes the name of the father, with or without another 'fancy' name.
New College, Oxford. JOHN. L. MYRES.

Indonesian Influences on Water Transport in Africa.

(Cf. MAN, 1937, 117-8).
170 SIR,—May I call attention to my paper 'Some Notes on Ancient Means of Water Transport in relation to the Vessels of East Africa' (*Tanganyika Notes and Records*, II. 2 (1937), which was in the press before I saw Mr. Huntingford's paper 'The Boats of Victoria Nyanza' (MAN, 1937, 177).

I was in Oslo during 1936 and came to the conclusion there that the so-called 'bifid-prow' shown on the rock-drawings of the Viking ships (Huntingford, Fig. 2), was the 'skid' (or 'ways') upon which these vessels were moved at the time that they were burnt. In my view, Fig. 2 clearly represents a burning Viking ship. These rock drawings are probably local memorials of such events. It is, however, possible that they may represent the pyre. In any case this projection, in the rock-drawing outline, formed no part of the construction of the vessels. They were similar in outline to the Egyptian ships (Huntingford, Figs. 4, 5, 6) in so far that they had no beak on or below the waterline.

In the modern brooches the outline of a projection is the waterline, and some of these are copied from old patterns.

It is not my intention to be in any way controversial, but there is distinct evidence of Asiatic influences to be found wherever the Moslem religion has penetrated. Weapons, crafts, traditions, etc., if approached from a proper angle, can be more definitely attributed to Moslem influences than to native African culture or Nilotic influences.

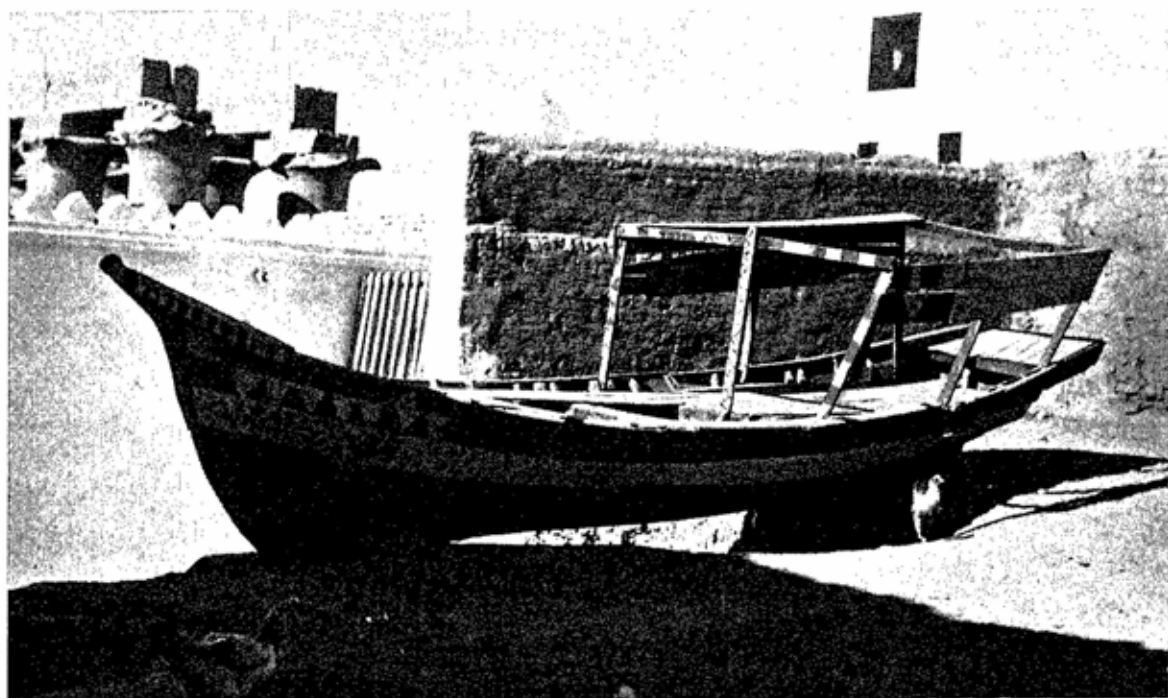
Any Egyptian influence on East Africa has come there through the Persians, Romans, and Indians, as Mr. Mookerji has shown in tracing the history of Indian shipping. An excellent model of the Asiatic sea-going outrigger ship (described by Mookerji and Hornell) is figured on the Java temple in the Science Museum, South Kensington (dated about the ninth century A.D.), and the constructor of this model has published a paper on the subject, *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society*, 1937.

In Miss Freya Stark's article 'Koweit' in the *Geographical Magazine*, Vol. VI. 6 (October, 1937), the illustrations include various types of dhows, and a palm-reed canoe with sail. In the Cretan ship (Huntingford, Fig. 7), the bi-fid prow is not definite. It is merely the joint and outline of the stern, if a line is clear. The projection at the stern may be a long rudder as used by canal barges or the Nile vessels. In the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries the Indian pilgrim ships visiting Jeddah had a long spar lashed on to the rudder, so that they would answer their helm quickly in narrow waters. The 'Canal Rudder' fitted to steamers passing through the Suez Canal is a survival of the 'log lashed at an angle of about 45 degrees to the sailing vessel,' when the reefs were not buoyed and sail was the only power.

It is however possible that in the earliest craft the keel projected beyond the stem-post and the stern-post. This might have been done to prevent the log or excavated log (dug-out), which formed the keel, from splitting when the stem and stern-posts were driven into it. Rabbeting, scarfing, or mortising were later developments.

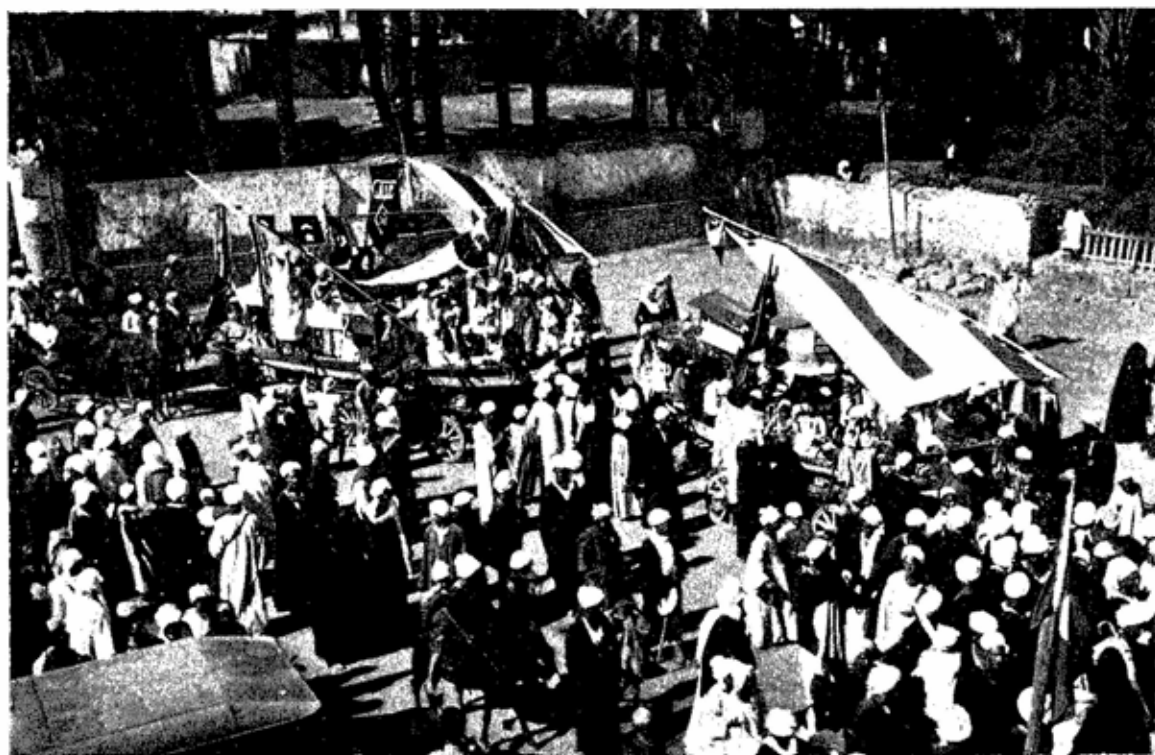
The real question at issue is the actual dates of each of the Scandinavian rock drawings. They are quite possibly of 'Iron Age' period when the ancestors of the Vikings were probably acquainted with Greek or even Roman vessels. The date fixed for the earliest remains found is subsequent to that of the sack of Rome by the Gauls.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.



1. A PROCESSIONAL BOAT OUTSIDE THE MOSQUE IN LUXOR TEMPLE.

Photograph by J. Hornell.



2. LUXOR BOAT PROCESSION: ASSEMBLING IN THE MARKAZ SQUARE.

By Courtesy of Mr. G. Runkewitz, Jr.

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Egypt.

With Plate I-J.

Hornell.

BOAT PROCESSIONS IN EGYPT. *By James Hornell.*

171 Many Ancient Egyptian customs persist in a sadly degraded condition in the Egypt of to-day. Among these are the boat processions at Luxor and Qena held annually on the birthday festivals (*mūlid*) of the Muhammadan patron saints of these towns. The more important of the two is that of Luxor; in the opinion of most Egyptologists it represents a shadowy survival of the great water festival of Opet, when the Theban Triad, Amun and his divine companions, Mut and Khons, journeyed up-river from the vast temple of Karnak to visit their shrines in the Luxor temple.

This festival in normal times, when the land was free from the attacks of foreign foes, was attended by the Pharaoh and his Court aboard the Royal Barge, resplendent in gold and silver ornament and richly painted in bold primary colours that strike no jarring note in a sun-bathed land. As seen in the sculptured record on the exterior of the western wall of the temple of Ramses III, within the great enclosure of Amun at Karnak, we see six boats manned by paddlers towing the Royal Barge, which, in turn, is towing the Sacred Bark of Amun. Behind come the smaller barks of Mut and Khons, each towed by two sailing boats. Priests, musicians and dancers in other boats have their allotted places in the colourful procession, as the boats slowly make their way southwards to the sound of hymns chanted by the priests, and the tinkling cymbals of the musicians.

This gorgeous festival has dwindled away lamentably. Its character has changed completely. Its elaborate ceremonial has been annexed and degraded into a ragged procession through the streets of Luxor in honour of an obscure Muhammadan saint, Sheykh (Sidi) Yūsef Abu 'l Haggāg, about whom so many contradictory legends have gathered that the only fact certain is the presence of his tomb in a mosque within the walls of Luxor temple. A new legend appears from time to time; the latest to circulate is conceived in a crudely prosaic form, probably considered as more acceptable of belief in this enlightened age than the older and more romantic tales. According to this, Yūsef was once returning from Mecca in one of a small fleet of pilgrim-ships. A great storm arose and the ship was in imminent danger of foundering; in answer to Yūsef's prayers she came through in safety, whereas all the other ships in her company were lost. Impressed by the miracle the surviving pilgrims elevated their saviour to sainthood and on his death erected a tomb over his remains at Luxor; this is now the most sacred spot in Luxor to the Muhammadan populace. In commemoration of the saint, a festival takes place each year on his birthday; the most important feature is a procession, in which foremost place is given to one or two small boats, symbolic of the pilgrim-vessel which the saint saved from foundering.

On the fourteenth day of the month Sha'bān the participants in the procession gather in the Markaz square, adjoining the mosque of Sheykh el Miqashqash, around the gaily-beflagged boats of Sheykh Yūsef Abu 'l Haggāg. These are mounted on four-wheeled lorries, drawn by men and boys hauling on ropes attached to the shafts. Each boat is freshly painted; each has been fitted with a mast whereon is hoisted a blue-striped lateen-sail. Privileged children, preferably those of the people who claim descent from the saint, crowd aboard, swarming everywhere. Flags inscribed with sacred

texts are carried before and after the boats, and float from the masts.

In build, these boats differ completely from the clumsily fashioned river-craft seen on the Nile. A certain dainty elegance characterizes their lines, their clipper bows, their long, beak-like prows and the open gallery frame built out beyond the transom stern. Instinctively we feel that in former years when the festival had greater importance than to-day, the boats used were really small replicas of the Turkish galleys that harried the Christian coasts of the Mediterranean in the middle ages. And it is significant that within my own knowledge the nearest related design to these Luxor craft is that typical of the galley-shaped sardine-fishing boats now belonging to Malaga, a town held by the Moors till 1487.

The route and the detailed composition of the procession have been described several times,¹ but so far as I am aware the boats have not received any attention. Although the procession now boasts two boats, existing accounts mention only one. Except for their appearance on the day of the festival, they lie neglected in the precincts of the saint's tomb-mosque. One rests on a rubbish heap, level with the top of the encircling wall; the other lies in a dark corridor outside the tomb-chamber.

¹ See G. Legrain, *Louqsor sans les Pharaons*, Brussels & Paris, 1914; A. M. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples*, London, 1923.

Indicative of the obscurity that shrouds the life-story of this holy man is the claim by some Copts that he was in reality a Christian monk, the Amba Samuël, beheaded by the Arabs because he would not apostatize; they hold that the Moslems have wrongfully annexed him—changing a Christian martyr into a Moslem saint!

An analogous boat festival takes place at Qena, on the occasion of the *mūlid* of Sidi 'Abd er-Rahīm ibn Ḥajjūn, said to have died in 1196, a plank-built boat being taken in procession through the town.

Another echo of Ancient Egyptian custom, for which I am indebted to Dr. W. Vycichl, is the present-day practice of the people of Farshūt of placing a silver two-piastre piece in the mouth of a dead man, for the purpose of paying the ferryman's fee to take him across the 'Sea of Fire.' They believe that the dead have to cross this on their way to Paradise. According to some villagers the transit is effected in an ordinary plank-built boat, but others maintain that it is upon a raft supported by pot-floats (*maramma* or *awāma*), placed four by four, or six by six. Good men are believed to make the transit from bank to bank in one minute, whereas the passage of the wicked takes three days!

For the excellent photograph of the Procession gathering in the Markaz Square, I have to thank Mr. G. Runkewitz, Jr., who kindly placed his negative at my disposal.

AN INDIAN OUTLOOK ON ANTHROPOLOGY. By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., Ranchi, India.

172 The modern science of anthropology is little more than a century old. Within this period Cultural Anthropology has undergone more than one change of outlook. It should not be limited to the study of the lower cultures but should include the ascertainment and interpretation of social characteristics and evolution of all human groups, aiming at a future integral understanding of human cultures. The culture of a particular human group certainly needs to be described for its own sake—both functionally and historically. But it also needs to be studied in its setting of culture as a whole viewed throughout mankind.

Common characteristics include the possession of a social organization with rules and customs relating to puberty, marriage, child-bearing,

death and burial; ceremonial that typically has what we call religious and what we call magical elements in it; differentiation of labour, basically according to sex, but also on more specialized lines; exchange of goods and services, tabus, methods of defence and offence.

The older school called *evolutionist* was right in grasping that most of these features occur in some form or other in all societies; though evolutionists were apt to go wrong in ascribing a particular form, noticed in a particular group, too readily (yet not invariably) to an independent growth within that group.

The *historical* school of ethnologists tried to correct this error, but too often made their study fragmentary by attending too little to the general picture of the group's life, and by

concentrating their attention too much on supposed parallels between one group and another in respect of particular features which were then discussed as a product of diffusion of culture. Diffusion of culture has certainly been very important, but it is not only details that have diffused; also it is not only the debts of one culture to another that need to be studied. And the over-emphasis on diffusion has sometimes led to the undue and dogmatic hardening of useful ideas of *Kultur-Kreise* or Culture-Regions into frames wherein the facts of the life of a particular group are sometimes made to fit, even if they have to be mutilated for the purpose. Diffusionism must be used with the reserve, that it is always the human mind which is receptive, selective, and adaptive. Reception, selection and adaptation by one individual mind, or from one individual mind, is rarely lastingly effective. Assimilation or rejection nearly always is the work of many minds undergoing similar reactions; often enough, the borrowed cultural trait is modified to suit the culture-ideal of the borrowers.

The culture of each human group has its roots in the endeavours of the members of that group to evolve a way of life suited to the environment, and expressing the accumulated experience, of the group. It seeks to control and adapt nature in general and, what is more important, seeks both to adapt and to liberate man's inner nature. The group seeks self-maintenance and self-expression, and it has gradually striven to permit, and even to encourage, initiative and individual self-expression as a means to promote, not only improvements in the control of nature, but also ideals of happiness and of social order.

Every department of a people's culture—economic, social, political, aesthetic, religious—bears the impress of these endeavours, and the different departments of the culture of a group are (and must be seen as) interdependent parts of one organic whole. So too the different cultures that have grown up in the world, as the outcome of age-long endeavours of groups with diverse heredity, environment, and contacts, form inter-related parts of human culture as a whole. The Vedantist Hindu would suggest that different human groups form, as it were, different life-centres influencing one another on the sub-conscious as well as on the conscious plane in ways that are as yet hardly recognized. In this way, as Sir J. Arthur Thomson has said, "after a

"long circuit there is a return to the old truth: 'In the beginning there was mind.' We might vary this and say that 'in and through all there is Mind,' and an Indian is inclined to look upon human culture as an evolution of the external manifestation of what (for want of a better term) we call the spirit within. At the same time we would by no means follow some Western and other thinkers in figuring body and soul as distinct entities temporarily linked in what we call life.¹

The functional ethnologist has seen the weakness of both the evolutionist and the historical school, but his attitude is to some extent a confession of impotence. To picture a group at work is a worthy aim. To picture it, without drawing attention to evidences of evolution within, or borrowings from without, may lead to misconceptions. Moreover, the functionalist has given special emphasis to the study of lowly cultures as exhibiting the ground-plan whereon 'civilization' has been built. But there are probably few lowly groups without borrowings from those who have gone further along the way—borrowings that may persist within a lowly group in an imperfect (even a decadent) form. We do not as yet know what items can be safely and completely described as part of the ground-plan.

This entails difficulties in the employment of the psycho-analytic method; and the validity of the Freudian universal symbols is not generally admitted. But anthropologists are widely agreed that the employment of verified association-tests, to probe the unconscious or sub-conscious mind, is expected to lead to fruitful researches into primitive mentality and lowly social characteristics; and that dreams have played an important part in building up lowly cultures. Waking-dreams or visions have analogously come to play their parts in the growth of high cultures, in proportion as the human group has found itself able to give scope to individual initiative, and so to secure a measure of liberation from the rigidity of custom.

The study of lowly groups must be accompanied

¹ In Hindu philosophy, the body or rather 'bodies' (*Shariras*) of man are represented as manifestations of different stages or aspects of human consciousness, different material expressions of the individual 'Self' (*Jibatma*). The *Chit* or consciousness alone is *Sat* or Reality. Thus in the *Prasna Upanishad*, III, 3, we read "Of *Atma* (Spirit) this life is born." This reminds one of Milton's lines:

"Of the soul the body form doth take,
"For soul is body and doth the body make."

and supplemented by a study of more advanced societies with extensive comparisons, and a full realization that, though they may be said to be on diverse levels, they are not all climbing the same ladder. Civilizations are diverse; it is their contributions to one another that can still enrich mankind and give us a vision of mankind in totality—an echo of the life-song of humanity and perhaps a clue to the meaning of it all.

And, as we proceed from the lowlier to the more elaborately equipped societies, the question of personal factors in the development of culture claims attention. As dynamic forces of culture, the outstanding great men—men pre-eminent in thought, feeling, or action—appearing in a human group and initiating some epoch-making change in ideals or institutions, or discovering some new scientific law, or inventing some epoch-making mechanical appliances, are at least as important as (perhaps more important than) other factors; although these other factors have helped in the mental growth of such exceptional personages, and in suggesting the innovation. In fact, such personages, though more or less products of their race, time and group-history, generally visualize more clearly and completely, and express more fully, some idea that had been long seething in the general mind of the people. Such 'representative men'—sometimes a galaxy of them—generally appear after a community or people has come into intimate contact with some other culture, or there has occurred a typological admixture, and when some time has elapsed for the proper mingling and integration of the two cultures. And then there ensues a period of great cultural advance following upon the wider synthesis—a greater approach towards what has been called 'holism.' Such appears to have been the course of cultural progress from pre-historic to modern times. In the Hindu scriptures such great personages are regarded as incarnations, partial or complete, of the Deity.²

² Thus, in the *Bhagavat-Gita*, IV, 7, 'God' or Srikrishna is represented as saying "Whenever there is decay of culture (*Dharma*, or righteousness or right living), and there is exaltation of unrighteousness (*adharma*), then I myself come forth." Such exceptional personages, though rare, are not quite unknown even in the lower cultures, although, owing to ignorance, inexperience, and unfavourable environmental conditions, they often fail to achieve much real or lasting good. In primitive societies their activities generally take the form of religious reform or revival. Such were the Birsaites

(Continued on next column.)

With the development of culture, societies come to have highly differentiated activities, and it may be claimed that it was this, rather than the caste system, that the Vedic Rishi had in mind when they spoke of the *Purusha*³ ('Spirit of the Universe') increasingly manifest in humanity with its *Brahmana*, the 'head' representing moral and spiritual powers; *Kshatriya*, the 'arms' or protective powers; *Vaisya*, the 'loins' or productive powers; and *Sudra*, the 'feet' or serving powers. We follow in thought the rise of humanity, with its inter-related natural classes or psychological types forming an organic unity in the eternal *Purusha*, undergoing many setbacks, when inspired enthusiasm of leaders gives place to attempts at systematization. This systematization could not have been entirely 'artificial,' as it would appear to have been designed to regularize and validate a state of things which was then developing through a combination of causes—historical, racial, social and economic—and to give the scheme a psychological basis and a moral direction through the formulas of *varnas* and *gunas*.

Yet the reality in society could not often approach the ideal very closely. It may be claimed that rarely is the leap-forward with its vision of human unity entirely lost. The difficulties,

movement among the Mündās of Chōtā-Nagpur (India) in 1898–1900, the Khārwar movement among the Santals of the Santal Parganas (India) which was initiated by Bhagrit Santal in 1871 and is not yet extinct; and the Tana Bhagat movement among the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur which began in 1915 and subsists to this day: vide S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, pp. 325–343; *The District Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 145–151; S. C. Roy, *Oraon Religion and Customs*, pp. 343–403.

³ The reference is to the *Purusha* hymn (*Rig-Veda*, X, 90), of which the keynote is the essential unity of humanity as component parts of one Cosmic Being. All life, mind, and what for want of a better term we call 'soul,' are regarded as different rhythms or expressions on successive planes of one and the same consciousness. This idea of fundamental unity forms the basis of the Hindu's sociology, ethics, and religion. The ancient Indian social ideal was the establishment of stable harmonious relations between members of a family, as the basis of "domestic morality"; between the different families composing a community ("social morality"); between the different communities composing a nation ("national morality"); and between different nations composing humanity ("international morality"). Religion is in essence the realization of one's unity with the Infinite, in the inner life and the outer universe, and the regulation of conduct and the emotions for and through such realization.

whether of the individual or of the group, are immense. Yet the ideal has settled deep down into the people's soul, and still dominates the sub-conscious mind of all sections of the Hindus, and their fundamental attitude to life; and this is what has earned for them the epithet of the "mild Hindu."

With this view of human society in one's mind it is difficult to accept Dr. H. S. Harrison's pessimistic presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1936. "The mind of man," he said, "singly or in multitude, has little sense of direction, and, if it may be said to have an ultimate aim, that aim is too obscure for formulation." The human mind "has moved forwards and backwards and sideways, in and out of control, without knowing what its destination might turn out to be." Similarly the American ethnologist, Dr. Robert Lowie, calls civilization a "planless hodgepodge, a thing of shreds and patches" and declares that "neither morphologically nor dynamically can Society be said to have progressed from a stage of savagery to a stage of enlightenment." (*Primitive Society*, pp. 440-441.)

More cheering appears to be the prospect held out by eminent biologists and physical scientists who hold that man is capable of continuous progress by taking in his own hands the direction of his cultural development, and that humanity may not have been mistaken in thinking itself free to choose between good and evil, to decide its direction of development and within limits to carve its own future: e.g., Sir James Jeans, Halley Stewart Lecture 1935. Professor Julian Huxley, both in his Halley Stewart Lecture and in his presidential address to the zoological section of the British Association (1936) expresses himself in analogous words.

The ancient Hindu sages had a concept of stages or 'sheaths' of what they called the soul—*Annamae Kosha*, the gross body; *Pranamae Kosha*, the vital body; *Manamae Kosha*, the mental body; *Vijnanamae Kosha*, the higher mental body (or pure reason) and the purified will; all sheathing the *Anandamae Kosha*, or the spiritual core. They laid down a complete code covering all aspects of life, individual, domestic, and social, to lead up to a realization of self-knowledge and self-control, not to the stripping off of the 'sheaths.' Modern science has told us so much of the interweaving of mental and spiritual affairs, as we call them, with endocrine organs, sex, and

so on, that we feel 'self-knowledge and self-control' expresses the Indian ideal better than Professor Julian Huxley's notion of "letting the mammal die within us."

With these thoughts in mind, let us then see that, to study a people, we live and move amongst them, learn something of their language, share something of their life at least in thought and sympathy, make their joys and sorrows our own, thinking black with the black men, brown with the brown, yellow with the yellow, and white with the white. In this process we shall at any rate cultivate objectivity of mind in ourselves, one of the highest attainments of thought and sympathy. If a student work in this spirit, he cannot fail to realize the organic unity and dynamic nature of the culture he is studying, the vital function that each item and aspect of the culture fulfils in the entire scheme of it, and the bond that unites them all into a whole.

The Functional School has introduced a helpful realistic method of presentation, with copious concrete documentation from incidents and instances collected in the field, that bring into clear relief the meaning of a custom or institution and its inter-relation with other parts of the culture and with the ideal behind the culture, and its function in its entire scheme. This method, however, has so far been applied mostly (perhaps only) in delineating some particular institution or aspect of a culture, such as the ceremonial *kula* exchange-system of the Trobriand Islanders, totemism in Australia, the kinship-system of the primitive Polynesian Tikopia, and the sexual life of the Trobriand Islanders. The inter-relations of the particular institution with other parts of the entire culture-system have been abundantly brought out by such treatment. But, if an entire culture is to be dealt with adequately, and properly documented by this method, each culture will require more than one bulky volume for its exposition. Moreover, the function of Social Anthropology cannot properly be limited to discovering the functional inter-relations and the role of specific customs and rites in the entire social complex. Historical relations, past and present, and other conditions that have helped to produce the fundamental attitudes or genius of a culture, also require investigation. The functional method cannot therefore be expected to supplant the orthodox method of ethnographical monographs, but will, no doubt, very usefully supplement it.

The existing method of concise classified presentation in an ethnographic monograph of the various aspects of a culture will have to be continued, with the added feature of pointed but passing references to their inter-relations and to the functional nexus that binds them into one integral whole. It would, of course, be very helpful and illuminating to have, in addition to the orthodox monograph dealing with a tribe or community as a whole, special volumes dealing functionally with important special aspects of particular cultures. We need to write, in the light of intimate knowledge and deep sympathy, diaries and tales (I shall not call them novels) containing unvarnished realistic delineation of authentic concrete scenes from primitive life in action. The difference between such books and books written by casual visitors and holiday-makers will be seen by a comparison of Verrier Elwin's fascinating volumes *Leaves of the Jungle* and *Phulmat of the Hills*, vivid glimpses of Gond life, with the more or less imaginary and overdrawn account of an unnamed tribe, with perhaps just a few grains of distorted fact hidden under a cartload of fiction, in such books as Vivian Meik's *The People of the Leaves*. The vital facts of human culture are facts of spiritual experience; and therefore the historian of culture must seek to identify himself in spirit with the state of soul-evolution of the people he studies.

Then will come unbidden, as it were, to his inner perception a full comprehension of the inner meaning of the customs and institutions which he has carefully observed and studied. It is through concentrated contemplation of facts, scenes, and incidents, as well as outstanding personalities, that we may develop an *intuition* of the direction

of the vital impulse of a people's life—the particular *Dharma* or spiritual nexus that integrates, sustains, and nourishes that culture. This process of illumination might suggest fruitful lines of investigation in Cultural Anthropology.

Thus the objective methods of investigation of cultural data have to be helped out, not only by historical imagination and a background of historical and geographical facts, but also by a subjective process of self-forgetting absorption or meditation (*dhyana*), and *intuition* born of sympathetic immersion in, and self-identification with, the society under investigation.

The spread of this attitude by means of anthropological study can surely be a factor helping forward the large *unity-in-diversity-through-sympathy* that seems to an Indian mind to be the inner meaning of the process of human evolution, and the hope of a world perplexed by a multitude of new and violent contacts, notably between Eastern and Western civilizations. The better minds in India are now harking back to the old ideal of culture as a means of the progressive realization of the one Universal Self in all individual- and group-selves, and the consequent elevation or transformation of individual and 'national' character and conduct, through a spirit of universal love. The anthropological attitude while duly appreciating and fostering the varied self-expression of the Universal Spirit in different communities and countries, and not by any means seeking to mould them all in one universal racial or cultural pattern, is expected to help forward a synthesis of the past and the present, the old and the new, the East and the West.

A BEAM OIL-PRESS IN TUNISIA. By Professor R. M. Dawkins, F.B.A., Exeter College, Oxford. Illustrated.

173 In January of this year, 1938, I visited the village of Toujan in Tunisia; the place is on the seaward facing slopes of the Kef Toujan, about forty miles to the south of Gabes and about the same distance from the frontier of Tripolitana. It is now conveniently visited by a car from Gabes. At the edge of the village is the oil-press, and I thought it worthy of a careful examination as it is so very close to the type observed by the late W. R. Paton and Professor J. L. Myres in Kalymnos, a type which enabled Professor Myres to give the true explanation of

the stone monuments in the Tripolitana known as 'senams': he has quite conclusively shown that these are what is left of presses for the making of olive oil, of the type of the Kalymnos press.¹ They must have very closely resembled

¹ The reference is to a paper, read in January 1899, *On the Age and Purpose of the Megalithic Structures of Tripoli and Barbary*, of which an abstract was printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Second Series, vol. XVII, pp. 280-293. The Kalymnos press is described and figured in an article, *On some Karian and Hellenic Oil-presses*, by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, in *J. H. S.*, xviii, 1898, pp. 209-217.

this one, which I found in working order and in full use at Toujan. Presses of this kind are called beam-presses: the pressure is exerted by a long horizontal wooden beam, pivoted at one end so as to be free to move in a vertical plane, and at the other end fitted with an arrangement by which a heavy stone can be raised into a position of suspension. The bags containing the already crushed olive pulp are placed in a pile on the bed of the press, which is under the central part of the beam, and when the stone is set hanging from the free end, the pressure on the bags is considerable. The oil flows down into a receptacle placed conveniently by the channelled bed of the press; in the 'senams' this reservoir, the bed of the press and the stone are all found *in situ*, close to the oblong stone frame to which

position of suspension at the end of the beam by means of a screw, which is below held to the top of the stone and above works through a screw-threaded hole at the end of the beam. The screw is turned by a pair of horizontal handles. The precise way in which the stone in the 'senam' presses was lifted cannot now be determined, but here the Toujan press suggests that the method was something more primitive than the Kalymnos use of a screw. The Toujan press has no screw, but the stone is lifted by a simple gear of ropes and wooden reels. The sketch in Fig. 2 of the front view of the press will make the method plain. In the centre of the diagram, which is not drawn to scale, is the front end of the beam; at Toujan the trunk of a palm tree was used and the section is therefore roughly circular. Below the

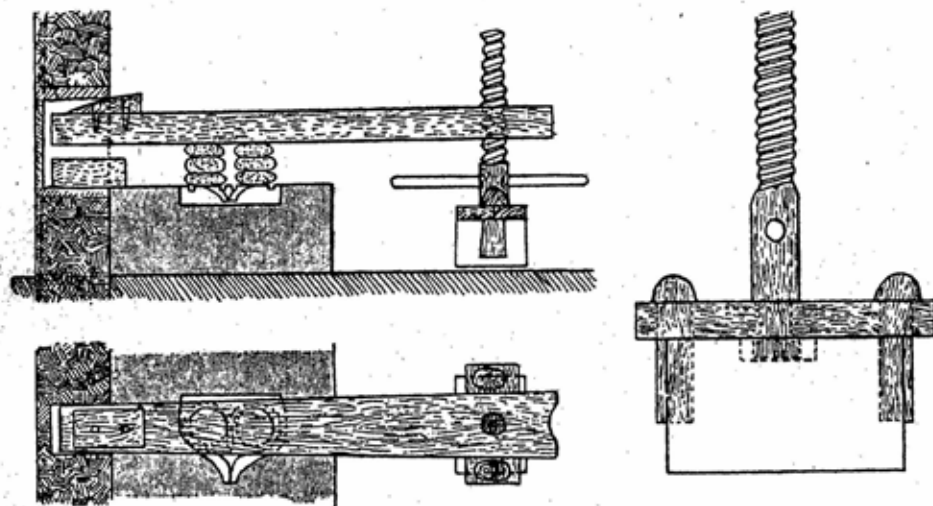


FIG. 1. OIL PRESS RECENTLY IN USE AT ARGINŪNTA IN KALYMNOS.

[The press-bed and weight-stone are unshaded.]

(Reproduced by permission from *J. H. S.*, xviii, 1898, p. 210, fig. 1.)

the beam was pivoted. The other parts, the beam and the gear by which the stone was raised, have naturally entirely perished, and it is the merit of Professor Myres's paper that in it he perceived from the analogy of the Kalymnos press the true meaning of the various parts of these Tripolitan 'senams.' The whole structure of the Kalymnos press is shown in Fig. 1, which is here reproduced from Paton and Myres' article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. It will be seen that the stone is raised from the ground to its

end of the beam and resting on the ground is the weight-stone; in this case a massive block some six feet long. Fixed into it at each end are two upright pieces of wood, each pierced with a hole; these holes serve as the bearings for a wooden cylinder or reel. The barrel of the reel has holes sunk in it into which the ends of long levers can be inserted; by means of these levers the reel is made to revolve. A couple of men can exert a considerable force in this way. Above the end of the beam is another reel working in bearings

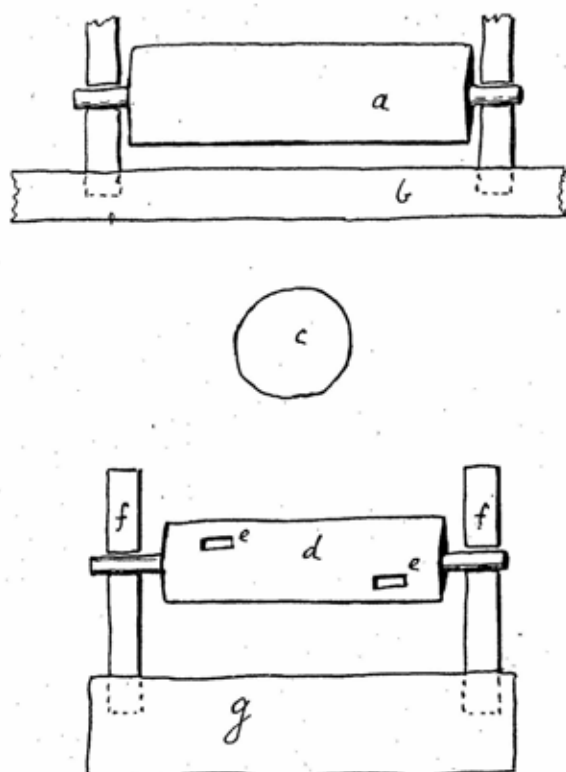


FIG. 2. DIAGRAM OF THE TOUJAN BEAM-PRESS.

a. The upper reel; b. The beam upon which it rests; c. The end of the horizontal beam of the press; d. The lower reel; e. Holes for the insertion of the levers; f. The uprights carrying the bearings; g. The weight-stone.

in the same way as the lower reel. The uprights, with the bearings, are supported by a stout beam which runs from one side to the other of the little house which shelters the whole apparatus. This upper reel has no arrangement for levers, and is, in fact, well above the rest of the machine. To each end of the lower reel are attached the ends of a stout rope of suitable length.

When the press is to be used the first operation is to raise the outer end of the beam, in order to place beneath its middle part the pile of bags containing the olive pulp to be pressed; these bags naturally rest on the actual bed of the press, on the edge of which is the grooved channel by which the oil flows away into a receptacle arranged at a lower level. Paton and Myres have given several drawings of these press-beds; I could not well see the details of the one at Toujan, but it cannot have differed in any essential from the usual form. The beam is lifted

in this way. The loop of rope is lifted and passed over the upper reel; it is then brought down and placed so that it hangs beneath the outer end of the beam. The lower reel is then turned by means of the levers. The ends of the rope thus wind themselves round the reel; this shortens the loop so that it presently lifts the end of the beam and holds it at the height required, the beam moving on its inner pivoted end. So little force is needed to do this that the weight of the stone keeps the lower reel from rising; the beam gives way first. The bags are then placed in position and the end of the beam is allowed to drop; the middle part then rests on the top of the heap of bags.

Then follows the actual application of pressure to the beam by raising the stone. The rope is removed from its first position and hung over the end of the beam. The upper reel plays no further part in the work. The lower reel is turned by means of the levers; this operation first tightens the rope; then as the rope winds round the reel, the reel is brought closer to the beam, and this raises the reel and the attached stone, and the stone is thus lifted right off the ground. The whole weight of the stone then hangs from the end of the beam and the full leverage is brought to bear on the pile of bags. To maintain this pressure the stone must of course be kept in the suspended position, and I looked to see if there was any device for doing this without the necessity of the men holding on to the levers continuously, but I could see no sign of any such labour-saving contrivance.

The bags in which the pulp is packed are woven in the form of a sphere with a sufficiently large round opening; a little like a common form of lobster pot. Bags of this sort are used in Crete, where they are called *malathounia*. In other places the pulp is wrapped in square pieces of goats' hair cloth, the corners of which are folded over like the envelope of a letter; as many of these square packets as the press will have room for are piled up one above the other.

It seems to me almost certain that the 'senams' of the Roman period were worked in this way, rather than by the more advanced method of a screw such as was used in the old press on Kalymnos. Toujan is so close to the Tripolitana that it is quite possible that a search in the neighbourhood would reveal actual 'senams'; as it is, I saw only this modern descendant of these

ancient presses. There was probably a still earlier stage in which the stone was forcibly lifted and hung on to the end of the beam. Later would come the reels and gear as I saw them at Toujan. The next stage would be the Kalymnos press, where the beam is worked by a screw. The Toujan mill was in a very, very small house; so small and ill-lighted that a photograph was not possible. In another part of the house was a roller mill of the usual type for the first crushing of the olives; a disc-shaped mill-stone moves round and round on a circular stone bed; this part of the machinery has, it seems, never been altered in any essential particular, and the one at Toujan was exactly like those seen everywhere else. It was worked, I think, by human labour; as a rule it is an animal which walks round and round the bed to keep the stone rolling over the olives.

I should add that a few miles north-west of Toujan is the troglodyte village of Matmata, and in one of the houses there I saw a press exactly like the one at Toujan. These houses are very curious. They consist each of a circular hole cut down into the rock to a depth of about thirty feet and of about the same diameter; the bottom of the hole is flat and is reached through a sloping

passage, the opening of which, the front door of the house, is naturally at some little distance. The rooms all open on the floor of the pit; sometimes there are higher rooms reached by steps, but the usual houses have just the fringe of rooms; the best house we were shown had ten rooms. There were living-rooms, store-rooms, a stable, and in one house there was an olive press. The position was very cramped and the exact details were not easily visible, but it was certainly of the same type as the Toujan press. Of these houses the Matmata region must have several hundred; a view taken from the air shows the whole area closely pitted with these circular excavations. The ground between the houses produces palm trees mixed with olives, much as in the island of Djerba. Custom does not allow strangers to approach the edge of the pits for fear of intruding upon the privacy of the harem; I could only look down into the houses we had just visited, where the women had therefore been cleared out of the way. At the edge of the settlement an above-ground market place and a few houses for shops have been built, but the great majority of the people live in these troglodyte dwellings.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

International Congress of Anthropological and 174 Ethnological Sciences: Second Session, Copenhagen, 1-6 August, 1938.

The Second Session of this Congress was held in the University of Copenhagen, and was attended by over 700 members and associates, of whom more than 150 were British. An unusually large number of the registered members were present; the meetings were well filled, and discussions were often lively. The admirable arrangements made by the Danish Organizing Committee and the Ladies' Committee were efficiently carried out by the Officers and Staff, under the leadership of the President Dr. Thomas Thomsen, the Danish Secretary, Dr. Kai Birket Smith, and the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Kjeld Rørdam.

The Congress was under the Patronage of His Majesty King Christian of Denmark and Iceland, who honoured the inaugural meeting with his presence. The President having declared the Congress open, speeches of welcome were made by Dr. P. Munch, Minister of Foreign Affairs, by the representatives of Norway, Sweden and Finland, and by those of Germany, Turkey, France, U.S.A., Great Britain and Italy; to which the President replied in an address devoted to the history of anthropological and ethnological studies in Denmark.

The work of the Congress was distributed among thirteen sections, and about 180 communications were received. There were also joint discussions, and general sessions for the exhibiting of films and phonographic records; by Dr. Dugaard Jensen on *Greenland, Ancient and Modern*, and by Dr. S. G. Morley (for the Carnegie Institution) on *Research in the Middle Area of Central America*.

In the section for Anatomy and Biotypology, Dr. F. Weidenreich discussed the *Classification of Fossil Hominids* with special reference to *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*. Dr. Fleure, Dr. Skerlj and Dr. Nordenstreng examined the conception of *Human Race*, and the *Classification of Mankind by Subdivision*.

Among physiological papers were several on *Blood Groups* by Drs. Streng, Ruggles-Gates, MacConaill, Jamagnini, and Popoff; Dr. Eugen Fischer's paper on *Race and Inheritance of Mental Qualities* roused lively discussion, and there were other illustrations of the effects of race-crossing, and other questions of heredity. The sections for Psychology and Demography held short sessions, but the papers of M. Mauss, *Fait social et caractère*, Prof. E. Rubin, *Perception and Anthropology*, and Dr. Iversen on *Population Statistics in Denmark* deserve mention.

In Ethnology, Prof. Edmund Hatt traced the

Ownership of Cultivated Land; Prof. Hersteurts, *The Economic Surplus and its Disposal in Primitive Economy*; Dr. Raymond Firth, *The Characteristics of a Primitive Economy*; and Mr. Peake, *The First Cultivation of Wheat and the Early Spread of Agriculture*. In Asiatic Ethnography, there was a sequence of papers on *Nomadism* by Profs. Myres, Haas, Vaast van Bulck and S. J. K. Baker; and on recent excavations in Anatolia by Profs. Arik and Kansu. In African, American and Oceanian Ethnography the communications were mainly on points of detail, some novel and interesting.

The problems of Arctic Ethnography naturally received special attention, in view of the unique collections and field work of the National Museum. Dr. Jenness examined *Prehistoric Culture Waves from Asia to America* and Dr. Collins the *Origin and Relationship of the Old Bering Sea Culture*.

In European Ethnography and Folklore—a new section mainly due to the support of Scandinavian colleagues—special attention was given to agricultural customs, by Profs. de Vries, Erixon, von Sydow, Uldall, Rivière, Corso and Vuia; Dr. Gösta Berg discussed *Arctic Culture-elements in Scandinavia*; and Prof. Nilsson the question of the *Ancient Origin of Modern Folk-customs*.

In Sociology and Religion Dr. Brøndsted discussed the question *How far can Archaeology and Prehistory serve as foundation for the study of intellectual culture?* and Dr. Lehmann the *Contribution of Ethnology to the prehistoric Archaeology of Religion*. Prof. Malinowski's paper on the *Dynamics of contemporary Diffusion*, and Miss Lindgren's on *Social Change due to Culture Contact*, raised interesting points of method as well as of fact.

Language and Writing did not elicit many papers, but the *Structure of Creole Languages* was examined by Drs. Galdi and Hjelmalev, and the *Problem of Common Language in Belgian Congo* by Prof. Vaast van Bulck.

Throughout, the presidents of sections were to be congratulated on their observation of the timetable, and the executive on the ample supply of printed abstracts.

Several special exhibits were arranged by the National Museum, for palaeo-pathological finds from Øm in Jutland, casts of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, skulls from Lagoa Santa in Brazil, remains of early breeds of sheep and dogs, Chinese and African art, books and manuscripts dealing with Scandinavian voyages to Greenland and Vinland, prehistoric antiquities from Hyderabad and from Anatolia.

Visits were paid to the open-air museum at Lyngby (where Farøese and other folk-dances were performed), to the castles of Elsinore and Frederiksborg, and, after the Congress, to many prehistoric and other sites.

The traditional hospitality of the Danish people expressed itself in evening receptions at the National Museum, the Ny-Karlsberg Museum of Sculpture, and the Engineers' Institute; by a formal entertainment and welcome by the Mayor of Copenhagen in the Town Hall; and by a farewell dinner followed by dancing and enjoyment of the famous Tivoli gardens.

The Council re-appointed the standing committees for arctic research, and for standardization of anthropological methods; and established others to deal with anthropological and ethnological terminology, with the position of anthropology and ethnology in public education, with the provision made by various countries for the conservation of aboriginal peoples whose mode of life is of scientific interest, and with the problems of megalithic cultures.

It was agreed to hold the Third Session of the Congress in 1942; but though several invitations were received or foretold, the choice of a place of meeting was postponed and referred to the Bureau of the Congress.

In every way the Copenhagen Congress was completely successful, and worthy of its kind hosts, the Danish people, the City of Copenhagen, and the Officers and Organizing Committee, who spared no efforts in its preparation and management.

J. L. M.

REVIEWS. SOCIOLOGY.

Kings and Councillors. By A. M. Hocart; London (Luzac), and Cairo (The Egyptian University) 1936.

This is a book of analyses and interpretations of various politico-religious institutions made in accordance with a Pattern of Ritual of the kind familiarized by Professor S. H. Hooke's collection of essays on "Myth and Ritual," to which our author contributed. The method adopted is largely the equational one favoured in much of his previous works; for example, in sacrifice "the unfailing equation," the sacrificer = the sacrifice and also the divine being to whom the sacrifice is made (p. 67), or the king = god = world = cult-object (p. 69). The finality assumed in such equations seems on the face of it too rounded off, too neatly pigeon-holed, to be convincing, and in fact the author himself will at times admit a want of evidence that he

terms "unfortunate" for the conclusion at which he aims and also a degree of doubt about the universality of parts of his Pattern, as, for example in the dichotomy of peoples or settlements which in some cases, he says, has to give way to trichotomy (chap. II, especially pp. 280-3).

It seems too that he may have sensed a degree of artificiality in his plotting out of the world, for he says (p. 69): "Man is not a microcosm; he has to be made one in order that he may control the universe for prosperity. The ritual establishes an equivalence 'that was not there.' The meaning attached by him to 'ritual' and 'equivalence' may perhaps be gathered from the following two passages: "I wish most particularly to insist upon this equivalence which is the basis of imitation, which is itself the most fundamental thing in ritual. The ritual turns upon the fact that

"one thing can be made equivalent to another and so that principle remains the most constant throughout the ages" (p. 45). Next: "Ritual equivalence nowhere consists in material identity, but in sharing a common spirit, life or whatever you choose to call it. It is the common spirit that is ritually important: the bodies are merely means to get at it" (p. 58). Here we may distinguish a kind of mysticism that may have caused the author among other things, to declare that he "definitely abjures the methods of Tylor and his successors" whom he appears to consider as merely "collectors of scraps" (p. 5), while in other passages he pillories the "rationalistic historian" (p. 166), the "hypercritical rationalist" (p. 114, n. 2) and indeed belittles work in general that is founded on what he terms "direct evidence" preferring the 'circumstantial'—though of course all serious 'rationalistic' students use both, whether of a material or a psychological nature.

At the background of such evidence, according to the author, lie the ritual and the pattern. Of these the king is the central pillar and the various elements of the pattern revolve on him, his Court and his functions, whether in peace or war, and they are given an extensive scope, as the titles of the chapters dealing with them will show, such as "The Church and the State"—"The City"—"The Commander-in-Chief"—"Temples." The author's mysticism is traceable in many of his ideas on these subjects; for example, the city has not been developed for purposes of defence, marketing or sociability, but because it is the royal seat (pp. 244-5). The king must be a capable leader in war, not for the simple reason that a good chief had to be strong to protect his people but because he was divine and must be equipped with all the elements of an ideal god's character; he must accordingly have his share of a war-god's qualities, such as Indra and, like him, must be a thunder-god (pp. 63 and 92—but here, as in the preceding case, the cart is surely before the horse). The author even seems to regret that he cannot analyze Horus, the falcon-god of Egypt, down to a thunder-god (p. 156, n. 17); he makes of him a solar deity, the usual interpretation derived from texts drawn up by scribes of the solar cult, instead of a tribal and then national god, of early totemic nature, who, when the sun-cult gained predominance, was given theologically a solar aspect.

The theory of Pattern has had forerunners, one of them, very old, the Platonic system of Ideas, or patterns, laid up in heaven. Another may be observed in the tenets of the strictly orthodox school of Freudian psycho-analysis for whom the materialistic interpretation of material facts is merely superficial and the true meanings are to be discovered only by analyses, on the plane of the sub-conscious, according with the physiological pattern at which that school has arrived—see, for example, Géza Róheim's "Animism, Magic and the Divine King." Again, something resembling a pattern is discernible in the theory, labelled by some as 'heliolithic,' that attributes the most important features of culture to the influence of ancient Egypt. This theory has greatly influenced our author who, in chap. III, with its motto "For God is Life," shows the core of his thesis to be that mankind's great quest is, through magic and religion, to assure for himself 'life,' a term which includes, very naturally, fertility, prosperity and vitality (p. 32); this is the quest that the 'heliolithic' school has put forward as the great stimulant for culture-migration.

The magic and religion which enter into the 'quest of life' are englobed in the term 'Ritual,' which seems a terminological error since ritual is but their technique, as indeed the author has recognized (p. 34).

In chap. II, "The Witnesses," the author has ex-

pounded his method. He declares his preference for 'circumstantial' to 'direct' evidence, to which, he thinks, the 'rationalists' are too much bound. He has further set up a bogey in the anthropologists who, he tells us, take detached features of life from many regions and compound from them a creation which they label "Primitive Culture"; but the challenge is deprived of force by the author's own method, for the 'witnesses' summoned by him are taken from all parts of the globe and from any period in history, beginning with the ancient Egyptians (p. 29). Historical development has received too little attention and the lack of it has led to some real error, such as in his account of Horus and of sun-worship and the origin of temples, on which a few lines may not be amiss.

The sun has been worshipped in many times and places, but not always necessarily as supreme god. Its supremacy seems to have begun in Egypt where there are traces of the sovereignty of its exponents, the Heliopolitans, in the predynastic age. That sovereignty was temporary but the official royal religion assumed a strong solar character when, some centuries later, the solar priests, already strong, took advantage of the falling Fourth Dynasty to found their own.

Temples have been raised by the author to a very mystic plane whereas a historical survey would show their beginnings, at least in Egypt, to have been very simple, as houses for the gods (*per neter*), that is, shelters for their images or symbols, to which were attached holy enclosures (*temenoi*) for the performance of religious ceremonies which may very likely have included, in the early stage, dances such as still survive among peoples of backward culture. For Egypt an opinion of Maspero has been taken as basis; but it was pronounced half a century ago when the many important discoveries of recent years were totally unknown. In other cases the authorities are not always happily chosen, especially the ancient ones, suspect as they must often be for their uncritical attitude: many examples might be adduced but it will suffice to mention Porphyrius on Zoroaster and Plutarch on the legendary Numa.

The author is of course aware of the part played in the development of human institutions, including the politico-religious, by man's ambitions and jealousies or by his individual strength, wisdom or cunning; yet he seems to reject the idea of political influence on religion and is almost sarcastic towards the Egyptologist who, like Sethe, is blind enough to prefer a direct use of his evidence to an analysis destined to make it fit into a given pattern (pp. 95-6). Yet he must know that, in the times and circumstances with which he is dealing, the god and his people were in most intimate relation and that to conquer a people meant also to conquer its gods; when, therefore, conquerors and conquered had to live together peacefully, as in Egypt, a fusion of their religious cults became a human necessity. In this connection he has asked "Are we to believe that a mere political accident in a corner of Egypt has bound nations to accept the combination of king, sun, lion, eagle for evermore?" We may reply with another: what Egyptologist has ever harboured such a notion? In the India, too, whence he has derived so much material for his analyses he must have observed much blending of elements of the ancient native religion with the Vedic of the conquerors.

It may be appropriate at this time to refer to another example, on a politic plane, of the interactions of ambitions in a state matter of great religious importance, royal coronations. A historical review, such as Schramm's recently published "History of the English Coronation" will show how constant such action has been through the ambitions, in England, of king, pope and barons, who

played various parts at various times, according to the political conditions of the moment. In one detail of the ceremony the author has made a slight error in considering election as an original feature; what he takes as such was really the recognition of the claimant to the throne as the lawful occupier by heredity, the principle of which he himself insists on strongly as being essential in matters of royalty or chieftainship—that 'recognition' has of course been a regular feature of our ceremony for centuries past. The force of heredity is signally exhibited in Charles II, who reckoned the years of his reign from the date of his father's execution.

To come to more general matters: no distinction has been made between religion in its two great stages, the early communal and the much later individual which is mostly an affair of personal salvation, though tinged with many remains of the earlier stage. This distinction, though often ignored, is essential and the lack of it has vitiated much of the author's contentions from examples in which modern religion has a part.

The author's real service is to have brought to our view some very primitive psychological principles underlying large tracts of socio-religious practice and their action on human institutions. His conclusions would have been more convincing if he had insisted less strongly on the unity and universality of his pattern and made it more elastic, less constricted to a procrustean bed. It is important of course to discover patterns, but they number more than one and, like all human things, cannot be immune from flux, growth or decay.

For so varied and far-reaching a work as this a really good index is required but, unfortunately for the searcher, the actual one provides a very poor guide.

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

Half-Caste. By Cedric Dover. With a Preface on Prejudices by Lancelot Hogben. London: Secker & Warburg, 1937. 324 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

No more controversial matter exists than this: the validity of racial prejudice. Mr. Dover has two excellent qualifications for discussing the subject: he is a trained biologist and a Eurasian, who can speak at first-hand of the difficulties of swimming against the stream of race antagonism.

The book begins with an examination of biological theories for the supremacy of white races. Mr. Dover is naturally unable to speak without emotion of the mental and physical sufferings and humiliations of black and half-black people. But this does not necessarily lessen the value of his work, for it is surely time a protagonist spoke on his side with as much gusto, force, and energy of invective, as greed and vanity have for centuries spoken on the other. He does, however, manage to keep a comparatively cool head; and drives home his belief with facts and statistics gathered over a wide field and with considerable reading and study. Professor Hogben sums up this belief in a brilliantly witty Preface, that—

"all existing and genuine scientific knowledge about the way in which the physical characteristics of human communities are related to their cultural capabilities can be written out on the back of a postage stamp." And Professor Hogben continues to wonder—

"that the cranial capacities of Anatole France and Leibnitz were each less than the lowest recorded average of any ethnic group, does not discourage painstaking anatomists from continuing to catalogue similar measurements in Kenya and the Transkei, or the Eugenic Review and the Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa from publishing their results in tabular form."

The pseudo-scientific dogma of English eugenicists and

German fascists are held up to easy ridicule by Mr. Dover; but far more difficult opponents, scientifically speaking, than Hitler or Captain Pitt Rivers are those scientists who may not agree with Mr. Dover that in a few generations black genes are bound to yield to white: that negro features disappear into the 'Mediterranean' type—dangerous phrase! For our author believes that the whole of mankind is steadily hybridizing into a dark white, of the same physical type, whether in India, South Africa, America or Polynesia. He is convinced that already Man is far too mixed ever to dream of racial purity, supporting this view with historical data; he is equally sure that the half-caste is potentially a man of equal intelligence and strength of character as his white brother. This latter conviction he illustrates with a short account of Eurasian history, showing how economic pressure has forced half-castes into cultural misery. A chapter devoted to the young Eurasian genius, Derozio, is only an illustration among many of the great and gifted men of mixed blood, whom history-books too often record without a hint of their true parentage.

We all deplore the horrors of lynching, that piece of sexual psychosis which projects on an innocent black the thwarted jealousy and repressions of degenerate whites; but it needs a book like this to open the eyes of the public to the sickening racial prejudice that still abounds; that almost incurable vanity and egotism, where it is not economic greed, that calls all negroes brutishly sexual and condemns half-castes as weak and unreliable. Where economic conditions do not function against the hybrid, as in the case of the Maori, how different are cultural conditions to where they do, as with the Cape Coloured. Mr. Dover carefully surveys the half-caste's cultural background from region to region, and shows with some power how often the hybrid 'helps Osiris'; how often high culture results from ethnic mixture.

Whatever the faults of his style, with its somewhat turgid medley of quotation and reference, whatever the force of contrary arguments, there is real vision in the book, the vision of Man as one great ethnic group, one completely united free brotherhood. But while so-called scientists juggle their facts to keep down the oppressed, to uphold the spite and vanity of the white, this time is distant enough. With a longing for racial freedom, Mr. Dover is naturally inclined towards the left wing in politics, and he somewhat exaggerates the wickedness—more often pure folly—of missionary and big-business man. But that this book and its indictment were needed, no humane person can deny. A. E. V. DREW.

Totemica, a Supplement to 'Totemism and Exogamy.' By Sir J. G. Frazer. London, 1937: Macmillan. xii + 518 pp. Price 25s.

Given a knowledge of Sir James Frazer's methods the title of this supplementary volume to *Totemism and Exogamy* is a fair indication of the contents. Except here and there, as when he contests Prof. Elkin's suggestion that the Australian ceremonies for the increase of totems are non-magical, there is virtually no theoretical matter at all, no fresh speculation, but a systematic and thorough compendium of carefully sorted and arranged facts not used in the four original volumes, but all bearing upon the questions then discussed and affording additional support to the views then put forward. One or two rather curious and unfamiliar vagaries of totemic practice appear, as in the case of the use of what appears to be an abstract idea, as at Tolnomona in the Cape York area of Australia where *wolmpilgobi* or 'sexual licence' is reported as a totem, or of some form of words, a prohibition on the use of

which is handed down from father to child and treated as a totem for purposes of exogamy, among the Edo-speaking peoples of S. Nigeria. It is interesting to find strangers admitted to a totem ceremony, in the Cape York peninsula again, after making them smell like true children of the totem by smearing them with moisture from the armpits, just as, before one foists a strange pup on a foster-mother, one rubs it over with the bitch's own pups in order that she may take to it. One recalls at the same time the late Prof. Carverth Read's suggestion about the association between body-odour and ideas about soul-stuff.

It would be dangerous to try to convict Sir James of an omission, and even if one could, where so much information is given it would be churlish to cavil at one, but if there is one form of totem on which one could wish for more information it is the placenta totem. The palette of Narmer illustrates what appears to be a placenta standard and the standard, like the totem, is often associated with the external soul or with the life of a totemist. The fairy banner of the McLeods is so impregnated with life matter, that not only does it bring victory, but the mere sight of it causes the pregnant to give birth, and a latter-day Mongolian bandit is described by Strasser as cutting the throats of his prisoners to soak his standard in their life-blood. It is no doubt this association of life with the standard that has caused it to be both so important to carry it into battle and yet so disastrous to lose it there. Attention is certainly drawn to the placenta totem of the Baganda in the second volume of *Totemism and Exogamy*, but there are others, and some of them like the Baganda totem are associated with the plantain tree. One clan of the Ho of Kolhan have the rat hole as a totem because their ancestors' placenta was buried in a rat hole. The kindred group of Kora in Bengal taboo a certain tree in which a placenta was placed, because that placenta was accidentally eaten by their ancestor. Some Yoruba, it may be noted, make, according to the report on the 1931 census of Nigeria, a practice of eating the placenta. In the Cameroons it is buried, as by the Baganda, under a plantain tree, and the fruit of that tree is eaten later on by the child, though we are not told that a woman may be impregnated by the flower falling on her, as is the Baganda belief described by Sir James in his earlier volume.

In any case it is the very considerable additional material from Australia, which is the most important addition made by *Totemism and Exogamy*, since, as Sir James points out, it is probably to Australia that we must look if we are to find a clue to the origin and meaning of the institution. And if that origin and meaning are ever unravelled it will be owing to the unremitting labours of Sir James Frazer in collecting and collating all the ascertainable facts bearing on the subject.

J. H. H.

Tangled Justice. By C. Clifton Roberts, B.A. Edited for the Royal African Society by R. Nicholson, C.M.G. and G. St. J. Orde-Browne. London: Macmillan, 1937. 157 pp.

This small volume, edited, after the untimely death of its author, by Mr. Nicholson and Major Orde-Browne, deals with justice in more than one sense of the word. An evaluation of British policy in East Africa, in terms of its conformity with that principle of trusteeship on which it professes to be based, leads up to a discussion of the penal system of the East African territories, with which Mr. Clifton Roberts became familiar in the course of ten years in the judicial service.

This experience convinced him of its inadequacy as a means of securing respect for law by the native commu-

nity on whom it has been imposed, for a variety of reasons. In the first place European law has made crimes of a number of actions, such as infanticide and the killing of supposed sorcerers, which among many tribes were positive duties, and has vastly increased the number of possible offences by legislative measures such as masters and servants laws, pass laws, or township regulations, of which some are necessitated by modern conditions, but many exist primarily for the convenience of the European. In the second, criminal procedure is based on principles which take no account of the native attitude towards crime and punishment. Thirdly, imprisonment carries with it no social stigma and is not unpleasant enough to have any deterrent effect, there is no provision for the segregation of the various types of offender, and where efforts have been made to teach trades to prisoners there is no organization which could assist them to set up in these trades on release. An interesting section deals with 'the Uganda criminal, who is often typical of that class of native offender who has begun to show the effect of the influence of civilization.' One of its effects, in a territory with the cheapest transport (for natives) in the world, is the virtual impossibility of preventing children from running away from home, to live by their wits in the townships.

Mr. Roberts is more consistent in his advocacy of the principles of the Howard League for Penal Reform than in his plea for a penal system in conformity with native attitudes. He urges a fuller study of these attitudes, but quotes with approval a correspondent who strongly deprecates any extension of the competency of native courts—and this not on the ground, which admittedly might be found to exist in given cases, that they do not satisfy native opinion, but simply on that of their general inefficiency. He argues for the abolition of capital punishment and of "punishments involving derision" on the ground of their incompatibility with the principles of civilization. Moreover, his suggestions as to the lines along which the native attitude can be understood may well mislead the reader not expert in anthropology to whom the book is primarily addressed. To offer to the judge in East Africa as a 'sufficient' explanation of the peculiarities of native law the statement that "it is not generally punitive, being primarily based on a readjustment of the equilibrium of Society" (p. 21) will not really go far to bridge the gulf between him and the prisoner at the bar; and the statement that "the sanctions underlying primitive law are so strong that the law is accepted and its principles are not questioned" (p. 64) obscures the fundamental issue—namely, the need of understanding what those sanctions are.

Nevertheless, at a time when both East and West Africa are seeking to remedy the deficiencies of their penal systems by the extension of British procedure, this reminder, that the circumstances of Africa call for a code designed with their needs in view, is timely.

L. P. MAIR.

Family and Society: A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction. By Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton. London, 1936. xv + 611 pp. Price 15s.

Professor Zimmerman and his disciple, Mrs. Frampton, are admirers of the theories and methods of Le Play, and this book is written to expound the former and record work in the latter. The authors begin their study of the relationship of family to society, by a historical account of familistic theory. They rapidly survey the 'evolutionary, functional and companionate hypothesis,' and then attempt to show that Le Play's dogma is much the most satisfactory. It seems rather

a waste of time to recount Bachofen's and Morgan's worn-out phantasies, and the absurd reconstructions of Bebel. On the other hand, the whole of the psychological approach is ignored, and the functional school very feebly shadowed. To anyone ignorant of anthropology, this historical survey would therefore be of very little service, and for professionals it is out of date and scanty.

Le Play's work and theories on the family are set out at length, and a biographical sketch provided. The authors' attitude to their hero is shown thus: "Any student knows that hundreds of writers lived at that time . . . However, this century produced only one 'man of the type of Le Play' (p. 84). His main contribution, they consider, is that he realized that cyclical fluctuations in the economic and social prosperity of peoples are the result of changes in the social structure; and these changes are due to the relation of family to society. Le Play's belief that prosperity is only possible where a strong family life flourishes, where the 'stem family' prevents too great individualism, is warmly shared by the authors who seek to prove that in America to-day the disintegration of family life and the 'unstable' as opposed to the 'patriarchal' family are responsible for too great a strain on the State, and thus for economic and social chaos.

The next section of the book is devoted to an account of conditions in modern America. The authors examine different types of family in areas under reconstruction, such as the 'relief family.' This type is unemployed and on relief and would be able to meet the situation wholly or in part by gardening and food production. Owing, however, to these families being disintegrated industrial families, they are not able to adapt themselves to agricultural life. The conclusion arrived at is, therefore, "formal changes in the situation of a population without internal adaptations in the family structure are of no particular avail as measures of long-time 'relief or reconstruction' (p. 163). In contrast to this, the highly integrated 'stem families' of the Ozark

Highlands manage to live on extraordinarily small incomes and yet to provide for the whole family without any need of state assistance, owing to great family solidarity, and shouldering of a weak member's burdens by the stronger members of the group.

After detailed descriptions of field-work among the Ozark highlanders of Arkansas, the authors indicate the problems of a stranded industrial town, Kingsville, whose one mill, its only support, closed down in 1932. They describe how difficult it is for weak family organization to return to prosperity. "Each Kingsvillian feels that some vague collective public should take 'care of him.' They conclude that the change is 'not toward a new type of family, but toward a disruption of a family organization and the partial absorption of its members into the larger public.' This is convincing, but the remedy suggested by the authors is hardly so: "A stronger family institution will be necessary to lessen the total load of responsibilities now left to the public."

The psychological approach is thus disdained. One cannot put back the hands of the clock. Present-day tendencies make for the individual and the state, and it is useless to lament the good old patriarchal days, when parents caned their children, wives served for the household, and the Family Bible symbolized authority. By the authors' own account, their ideal 'stem families' of the Ozarks live in the most squalid, ignorant, mental and physical discomfort. No solution at all is reached to present-day problems by saying that family life should be stronger.

The book's last section is a lengthy translation from Le Play's *Les Ouvriers Européens*, already largely quoted in the body of the work. An index is provided, but is not complete, and there are various small discrepancies in figures and facts. It seems a pity that so much work should have gone into a book which really helps little to solve our problems, even though it contains a germ of truth.

A. B. V. DREW.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Object of Head-hunting.

180 SIR.—In *Aftermath* I have adduced some fresh evidence in favour of the view that one, perhaps the principal object, of the custom observed by many agricultural tribes, of taking human heads, has been to use the vital force of the slain man for the purpose of promoting the growth of the crops. This view is strongly corroborated by a passage in Mr. J. P. Mills' recent book, *The Rengma Nagas* (Macmillan & Co., 1937, pp. 160 sq.), to which I was referred by my friend, Mr. E. N. Fallaize. The passage runs as follows: "In the case of most Naga tribes it is only by inference that we learn that the underlying idea of head-hunting is to increase the fertility of the killer's village by adding to its store soul-force obtained in this way from another village. The Rengma, on the other hand, says bluntly and openly that enemies' heads cause the crops to flourish and men and animals to increase. They therefore feel enemies' heads to be a real need, and believe that they suffer if they lack them. In 1933, with very few years of enforced peace behind them, Meluri begged me to allow them to raid 'just a little,' or, failing that, to take all my transport coolies from their village the next time I took a punitive column across the frontier, in the hope of some killing from which they might benefit. Western Rengmas have in the past, before

"their country was taken over, indulged in human sacrifice at times when they have been unable to obtain heads in war." J. G. FRAZER.
Trinity College, Cambridge.

'Masculine' and 'Feminine' Presents.

181 SIR.—The ceremonial exchange of gifts is of considerable significance in the life of many primitives. Once understood, it will also help to explain various other matters. Thus, bride-price as found in Indonesia—called purchase-money in the older literature—should be considered in the light of this exchange of gifts. A study of bride-price shows most clearly that its meaning and function is misrepresented when we discuss it without reference to the so-called 'bride-gift,' i.e., the gifts presented by the family of the bride. The payment of bride-price is but one link in the chain of gifts and counter-gifts which accompany marriage. In Indonesia the clansmen of husband and wife continue to exchange gifts on various subsequent occasions.

In Indonesia these gifts show a distinction as to sex. Those given by the relations of the bridegroom are differentiated from those coming from the side of the woman. Thus Drabbe of Tenimbar informs us that from the part of the woman only those articles are given which appertain to women, viz., produce from the gar-

dens, for these are cultivated by the women; the loin-cloth and the sarong, for women weave them; feminine adornments (bracelets, feminine ear-ornaments and necklaces). The husband's clan offers masculine articles, e.g., palm-wine, harvested by the men; the yield of fishing and hunting; the ornaments of the man (ear-drops, gold, and the sword). It is unthinkable that the husband's clan should present a necklace, or the relations of the wife palm-wine.

Among the Toba Bataks this differentiation as to sex is still preserved in the names used to indicate the presentations. The presents from the side of the woman are called *ulos* (= woven cloth), those from the clan of the man *piso* (= knife).

As is well known we owe our appreciation of the important rôle played by the exchange of gifts, *inter alia*, to Malinowski's brilliant study on the Kula ring. Here again two kinds of presents are exchanged: the *soulava*, or long necklaces of red shell, and the *mwali*, or bracelets of white shell. These articles also represent a differentiation as to sex. Prof. Malinowski reminds me of his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 365,—"When two of 'the opposite valuables meet in the Kula and are exchanged, it is said that these two have married. The 'armshells are conceived as a female principle, and 'necklaces as the male.' The *mwali* are even said 'to be women.'"

Other passages also are highly interesting in regard to the Indonesian data; the exchange of gifts between relations by marriage (pp. 184, 183, 372 *sq.*, 503) and the rôle that the *mwali* and *soulava* play in it. I am convinced that the study of bride-price as a part of the mutual exchange of presents will give a new insight into its meaning; and conversely that we have to grasp the sexual symbolism in the exchange of gifts, which is essential to it.

H. TH. FISCHER.

Utrecht.

The Stone Age Cultures of Uganda. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 60.)

182 SIR,—As Dr. Leakey has stated his opinion that the M-Horizon (Phase A) industry is exactly similar to that of Oldoway, Bed III, i.e., Early Acheulean, I cannot, of course, retain any longer the use of the term 'Middle Acheulean' for this industry. I would point out, however, that my use of the term 'Phase A' is, and always has been, synonymous with 'Early-Middle Acheulean,' in other words, transitional between the two. I regarded the M-Horizon Phase A industry as later than that in Bed III partly because of what seemed to be a more advanced technique of flaking, and partly because the M appeared to provide relatively more cleavers than Bed III, where they appear for the first time.

The use of the terms Phase A and B also seemed suitable because the geology suggested that no very long time elapsed between them, and Dr. Leakey agrees that Phase B is most probably of Bed IV, Middle Acheulean date and type. In our experience, the Phase A *gravel* were frequently overlain by Phase B rubbles, i.e., when both were present, they were always in very close association. We did not find the actual division ourselves, but its discovery was only a matter of time, and I understand that it has been found recently. I do not, of course, know the extent or nature of the separation, but there was no evidence at the time of our work that it might be as great as is implied by Dr. Leakey's and Mr. Wayland's dating of the two horizons (my Phases A and B). Such little information as I had on the separation suggested that it was not a large one, and Mr. Wayland has himself stated that it

"is seldom more than a foot or two" (cf. MAN, 1937, 67). Perhaps Mr. Wayland would be good enough to give the details of this division, which he regards as such a considerable diastem, if not a disconformity. Further, as one has always understood that Mr. Wayland interpreted the M-Horizon as representing an important dry oscillation in his pluvial scheme, it would be valuable to learn what climatic importance he now attaches both to it and to the second horizon (his N and my M, Phase B). As it is, until this correspondence began, I had only Mr. Wayland's own information to go on, to the effect that the M-Horizon alone represented a climatic break in the Kagera 100 ft. \pm terrace, and I imagined that he, as well as ourselves, regarded any closely related rubbles or indurated horizons as belonging to the same dry epoch, though they might have been of slightly different ages, corresponding to the difference in time between successive stages in the rise and fall of the water-level in the valley.

With regard to Mr. Wayland's suggestion (MAN, 1938, 61), that I should re-name my N-Horizon (15 ft. \pm above the M-Horizon and containing a Proto-Tumbian industry), I would point out that this was first named in July, 1935, by me, and that Mr. Wayland has himself admitted its priority (MAN, 1937, 67). Since 1935, it has several times been referred to in print and its characteristic industry and its relation to the M-Horizon described. Mr. Wayland evidently did not understand that it existed as an entity, entirely separate from the Early to Middle Acheulean horizons of the M complex, and it was his own use of the term 'N' that led to ambiguity and the present correspondence. My sequence is:—

M-Horizon, Phase A = Early Acheulean (my old Early-Middle Acheulean) = Oldoway Acheulean 1.

" " B = Middle Acheulean = Oldoway Acheulean 2, 3 and 4.

N-Horizon " = Proto-Tumbian.

I suggest, therefore, that, as the name N-Horizon has already been applied to an upper level, containing Proto-Tumbian tools, Mr. Wayland should discard this name for his horizon, immediately above the M, and that, if my name, 'M, Phase B,' is not acceptable, he should re-name it.

T. P. O'BRIEN

The Scripts of the Indus Valley and of Easter Island. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 1.)

183 SIR,—In dealing with two Easter Island tablets (MAN, 1938, 1), M. Métraux mentions also a discovery of mine, presented in 1932 by M. Pelliot to the French Académie des Inscriptions, viz., that a connexion exists between the Easter Island and the Indus scripts. According to M. Métraux my conclusion is inaccurate, and in order to arrive at it I have (he says) submitted most of Dr. Hunter's signs which I reproduce, to adjustments. Moreover, M. Métraux has since written in *Anthropos*, Vol. XXXIII: "M. Hevesy has depended too much on 'the probability that we would examine his comparisons hastily, discarding even differences he could not avoid reproducing even if he 'adjusted' (sic) his 'models.' I thought it was the right thing to submit the case to Dr. Hunter himself."

I shall publish his somewhat longer answer in a special article. Nevertheless, may I now quote the beginning of his letter of 1 June: "Dear Mr. de Hevesy, 'It is with considerable surprise, not to say disgust, that I have read Mons. Métraux's criticism of you in 'Anthropos, Feb.-April, 1938. He therein accuses you, 'inter alia, of having 'adjusted' certain Indus Valley 'signs to suit your purposes. As most of the 'adjusted'

"signs are said to have been taken from my work on the Indus script I have taken pains to go again carefully through the list of Indus signs reproduced by you. I have found that in every case without exception, when you have taken signs from my work, you have faithfully reproduced them with scrupulous and, indeed, remarkable exactitude. I am afraid Mons. Métraux has not even troubled to read the work of mine from which you copied the signs, viz., my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1932, pp. 494-504, inclusive, and this in spite of the fact that he himself refers to it in footnote 4, p. 222, of his article in question." . . . "You are welcome to make any use of this letter you deem fit. Yours sincerely, G. R. HUNTER."

I think that these lines of Dr. Hunter do not need any commentary. W. F. DE HEVESY.
Paris, 23 June, 1937.

Blood Groups, Heredity, and Polyploidy. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 123.)

184 SIR.—In connexion with the theory expounded by Dr. Dawood Matta (MAN, 1938, 123), you may perhaps be interested in knowing that at the second Italian Congress of Genetics and Eugenics (Rome, 1929) I had advanced tentatively the hypothesis that the exceptions to Bernstein's theory may be explained by polyploidy. The Proceedings of the Congress containing my paper and also the discussion on it by Profs. Artom, Bernstein and Lattes, have been published by the Italian Society of Genetics and Eugenics—University of Rome, 10, Via delle Terme di Diocleziano.
University of Rome.

CORRADO GINI.

Problems of Administration among the Australian Aborigines: a Correction. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 109.)

185 SIR.—In the report of the last meeting of the Committee on Applied Anthropology (MAN, 1938, 109) there appear one or two errors in the summary of the talk that I delivered in opening the discussion on the Problem of Administration among the Australian Aborigines. Although these are of relatively minor importance, I desire to correct them, as the matter of which I was speaking was carried out under Commission by the Commonwealth Government and has been the subject of an official Memorandum which is now before the Government.

The report reads: ". . . it has proved impossible to make the Aborigines into gardeners, and there is no local demand for the products of native agriculture." The first part is correct, but I would not venture to suggest that there is no local demand for the products of native agriculture—if such existed. My statement rather concerned the natives themselves who have been deprived of their culture and brought up without any knowledge of their traditional life and organization, in institutions, and of whom I said:—"Except for more or less casual work on cattle stations there are no industries that could absorb the product of these institutions, even if the practice had otherwise features that recommend it . . ."

Further, I am reported to have said: ". . . a special native affairs service should be created and staffed by trained anthropologists." I would not be prepared to make such a statement. What I said was that there should be a "Department of Native Affairs under a trained director, staffed by men who have been selected for their sympathies and qualifications for what must be regarded as a delicate and specialized work, and who

"should be trained in the application of modern anthropological methods."

DONALD F. THOMSON.

[Commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to conciliate native tribes, and to conduct anthropological survey in Arnhem Land, 1935-37.]

Carved Figures from Bali, Cameroons. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 32.)

186 SIR.—In MAN, 1938, 32, is an article on small carved figures from Bali, Cameroons. Bali town and tribe is situated some sixteen miles from Bamenda where this letter is being written, and consists of about 10,000 people.

During the two years that I have been in charge of the Bamenda Division, I have made a large collection for the Wellcome Historical and Medical Museum, having sent off recently seventy-three cases of specimens. No specimen of wood carving, pottery, metal-work or weaving has been procured from the Bali for the simple reason that they are traders. They play the same rôle for the grassland people as do the Opopo for the Ibibio, Ogoni and Andoni of the Cross and Imo river valleys; and as the Jekri do for the Sobo and Ijaw on the delta of the Niger.

However, lest the Bali in bygone days did go in for wood carving, I referred to the Reverend G. Tischhauser of the Basel Mission, the first Mission to open in these parts, about 1896. I attach a copy of his letter.

Bamenda, Cameroons.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Bafut, P.O. Bamenda, Cameroons, West Africa.
12th May 1938.

187 SIR.—I have the honour to inform you that I asked a Bali from Nqña with regard to the carvings. He informed me that there is one man at Bali-Nqña who understands to carve wood. His name is Bâtânwa'ni, he is the elder brother of Tita Ndzi.

After that I inquired a man from Bali Kymbad and he informed me that the Bali knew no carving. But some people learned it from the Bati, with whom the Bali-Nqña had joined for a rather long time and separated again in 1911, i.e., the greater part of the Bati left them in November, 1911. The language spoken by the Bali now is, in fact, that of the Bati, the original Bali is spoken only by a small number of people at Bali-Nqña, but known by all the people of Bali-Kymbad.

This information shows clearly that the carvings are at any rate not of Bali origin.

I am only sorry I cannot tell you where they came from. I also had no opportunity to get further information about the matter. But I hope this short notice will serve you at least a bit.

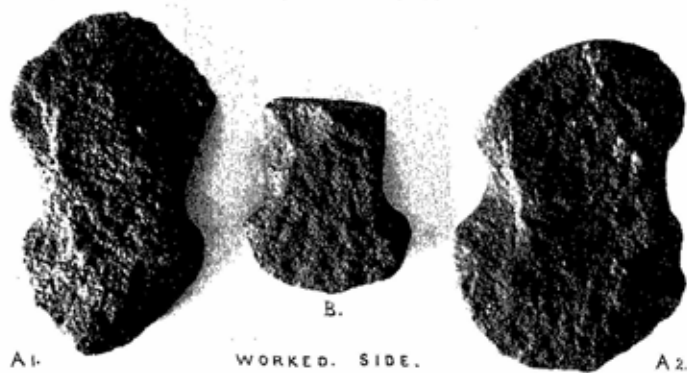
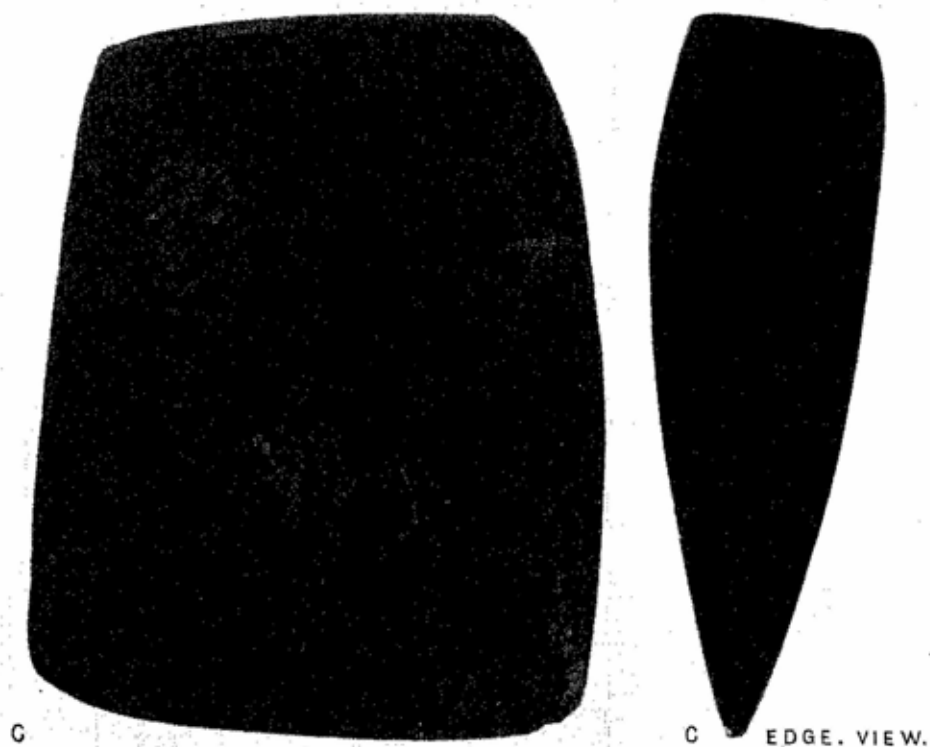
I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,
(Sgd.) G. TISCHHAUSER.
Missionary i. ch.

Protection against the Evil Eye. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 68.)

188 SIR.—When in Bali in 1935 I noticed rows of china plates and saucers which had been inset in the mortar of the walls on either side of the entrance into the innermost court (of which there were three) of the Kehen Temple (*Pura Kehen*). In MAN, 1938, 68, their presence and significance are explained. This is supported by the fact that all the china had a pattern in blue. Blue, as is well known, is a powerful prophylactic, extensively used all over the East and also in Eastern Europe, as is proved by the numerous blue beads which hang round the necks of horses, mules, camels or decorate the harness.

University College, Swansea.

MARY WILLIAMS.



STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM BOTEL TOBAGO ISLAND

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Pacific

With Plate K.

Leach

STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM BOTEL TOBAGO ISLAND. *By E. R. Leach.*

189 These implements formed part of a collection of objects from Botel Tobago Island which illustrated the paper on *Economic Life and Technology of the Yami of Botel Tobago*, read at the Royal Anthropological Institute on 23 November, 1938 (MAN 1938, 4). The interest aroused by these implements at that time seems to justify the publication of more detailed information.

The Yami of Botel Tobago appear to have used iron tools for woodworking purposes for many generations, but until the Japanese occupation of the island some forty years ago they were apparently still accustomed to use stone-headed implements for agricultural purposes. The use of these implements is now entirely superseded, but many of the celts are still preserved as hereditary treasures among the Yami's personal possessions.

Of the three types illustrated (Plate K, Types A, B, C), A is by far the most common. During the course of a two-month stay, I saw and handled about a dozen specimens of this type of celt, all of the same characteristic 'waisted' form and manufacturing technique. My Yami informants were unanimous in saying that these implements had been fitted adze-fashion to the end of a wooden handle and that they had been used as hoes for agricultural purposes. As regards methods of manufacture they were hazy, but were unanimous on two points: firstly, that their immediate ancestors had known how to make such implements and, secondly, that there was a tradition that the best specimens had not been made recently at all but had been dug out of the ground. In this connexion one self-appointed expert on the subject even went so far as to assure me that the specimen A.1 had been excavated, while A.2 was of more modern origin. But so far as I am aware no archaeological excavations have ever been carried out on the island, so that there is at present no means of corroborating the antiquity of any of the specimens.

Types B and C were apparently much more rare; I saw only the one specimen of Type B, and two of Type C. I could obtain no reliable information about either as to methods of use.

Description

Type A. Specimen A.1.

Length 13.8 cms. Weight 8 ounces.

Material: 'An igneous rock of coarse-grained porphyritic type.'

Specimen A.2.

Length 13.7 cms. Weight 8 ounces.

Material: 'Granite (?)'

These celts were evidently formed by shattering a water-worn boulder of volcanic rock, such as are to be found in large numbers everywhere about the shore of the island, and then choosing a suitable fragment for further working. In working the implement to its final form, it is chipped away only on the side of fracture, so that the finished product is smooth and convex on one face, while the other (worked) side is flat and rough. The crudity of the general finish may be seen from the illustrations.

No attempt seems to have been made to obtain a sharp edge; the technique appears to be one of impact only, without recourse to grinding. The method of chipping out the characteristic waist cannot be determined from the specimens in my possession.

Type B. Specimen.

Length 8 cms. Weight 4 ounces.

Material: 'a doleritic rock akin to 'basalt.'

In form this appears to correspond to a characteristic type of shouldered celt (*Schulterbeil*) found frequently by archaeological excavation in many parts of Indonesia. In technique this example is closely allied to Type A. Here again, except near the edges, the stone has been worked on one face only, the other surface being again the smooth outer face of a water-worn boulder. This tool also has been shaped by impact rather than by grinding. The exact purpose of such an implement is uncertain, as the blade would appear to be too small for most agricultural purposes.

Type C. Specimen.

Length 9 cms. Weight 9½ ounces.

Material: 'a sedimentary rock, probably an argillaceous sandstone.'

This celt belongs to an entirely different category to those previously described. A grinding technique is employed throughout, as opposed to the impact technique of Types A and B. The material is a comparatively soft fine-grained substance more suitable for a technique of this kind than the hard igneous rocks previously mentioned. I am not in a position to state definitely whether sandstone of this kind is to be found anywhere on Botel Tobago, and the possibility of importation cannot be overlooked. In form it appears to come within the classification of Heine-Geldern's 'four cornered axe' (*Vierkantbeil*). The blunt end is rectangular, both broad faces are ground down symmetrically in a slightly convex curve; the narrow side faces in planes perpendicular to the broad face and thus taper to a point at the blade edge. The blade-edge is blunt (2 mm. thick) so that, as in the case of Type A, the tool can have been intended only for agricultural purposes.

Conclusions

Heine-Geldern, in his elaborate study of Indonesian prehistory, discusses at great length four main types of palaeolithic and neolithic celt. These he classifies as *Faustkeile*, *Walzenbeile*,

Schulterbeile, and *Vierkantbeile*, each of which he regards as characteristic of a separate racial culture-group; thus he speaks of *Faustkeilkultur*, *Walzenbeilkultur*, and so forth. Examples of *Schulterbeil* and *Vierkantbeil* are illustrated in this article by Types B and C respectively, but the remaining classifications need yet to be discussed.

Faustkeile it seems were originally discovered in Indo-China, but recently similar implements have been unearthed in the Philippines and elsewhere. The following quotations demonstrate that, form apart, the method of manufacture of these early implements is similar to that of Types A and B in this article: "Es handelt sich zunächst "um zugeschlagene, beilartige Werkzeuge mit "Schneidenanschliff oder um in übrigen unbearbeitete Flussgeröllsteine, denen man eine "Schneide angeschliffen hat . . ." and again "gemeinsam ist allen diesen Kulturen die "Häufigkeit von Werkzeugen die nur auf eine "Seite bearbeitet sind, während man ihnen auf "der anderen ihre natürliche Oberfläche belassen "hat."

Walzenbeil, for Heine-Geldern, means a particular type of smoothly-ground celt having an oval or even cylindrical cross section, which has been found in many parts of Indonesia and Oceania and even as far north as Japan. The *Walzenbeil* is only important to the present discussion because Heine-Geldern has asserted that the plank-built boats of Botel Tobago, along with the Moluccan *Orembai* and the Solomon Island *Mon*, are all modern derivatives of a similar plank-built craft which, according to Heine-Geldern, was an outstanding characteristic of the *Walzenbeilkultur*.

As a matter of fact the question of the origin and antiquity of the Botel Tobago boat is a matter of considerable interest and was discussed by Mr. Hornell in MAN, 1936, 200. While I cannot myself endorse the highly speculative opinions put forward in that article, it is worth noting that the sheer technical skill required for the construction of the boat in its present form seems absolutely to preclude the possibility of the design having been evolved by a people solely dependent on the comparatively clumsy types of stone-headed tools classified and illustrated by Heine-Geldern. The use of iron tools is definitely essential for the construction of the boat in its present form and it seems significant that, according to Yami legend, their ancestors acquired the art of

forging iron before they learnt how to build a boat. But, in any case, in the light of the present evidence, it is difficult to associate the Botel Tobago boat with the use of the *Walzenbeil*, since surely if the original designers of the boat were really traditional users of the *Walzenbeil*, it is rather curious that the modern makers of this craft, though retaining a variety of stone-working techniques, should know nothing whatever of the *Walzenbeil*?

Of much greater importance is the evidence here provided to show that a people, who already possess a well-developed science of metal-forging, may still in certain circumstances continue to find it advantageous to use stone implements for agricultural purposes, and that further such implements may even retain primitive qualities of technique seemingly quite out of keeping with the advanced skill displayed in other fields, e.g., boat building, weaving, etc. Again, the existence of the highly-developed Type C alongside the seemingly primitive Type A seems at least to point the moral that the primitive mind does not necessarily classify technical superiority in the same way that we might do. Finally, the point emerges that if any attempt were made to assess the general level of Yami culture purely on the basis of their methods of working stone, it is obvious that the most fantastically misleading deductions would necessarily result. And on this ground I would argue that all attempts, such as those made by Heine-Geldern, to give flesh and blood and circumstantial detail to the stone skeleton of forgotten neolithic cultures

are necessarily futile and in most cases misleading.

It may be noted incidentally that the characteristic 'waisted' form of Type A seems at present to be more or less unique. The discovery, therefore, of similar waisted implements, of either ancient or recent origin, anywhere in Indonesia would provide a strong suggestion of some cultural link with Botel Tobago.

Bibliography

Röbert Heine-Geldern: *Urheimat und früheste Wanderungen der Austronesier*. Anthropos. XXVII. (1932.)

James Hornell: *Boat Construction in Scandinavia and Oceania; another parallel in Botel Tobago*. MAN, 1936, 200.

E. R. Leach: *Boat Construction in Botel Tobago*. MAN, 1937, 220.

A certain amount of general information on the Yami is to be found in the following articles:—

Otto Scheerer: *Zur Ethnologie der Inselkette zwischen Luzon und Formosa*, and *Ein Ethnographische Bericht über die Insel Botel Tobago*, Mitt. d. deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokio, 1907-09.

E. R. Leach: *The Yami of Koto-sho*, Geographical Magazine, London, October, 1937.

J. W. Davidson: *The Island of Formosa*, London, 1905.

Adolf Fischer: *Streifzüge durch Formosa*, Berlin, 1900.

The information contained in the last two references is, in general, not very reliable.

BARA GARI, THE DRAGGING OF THE TWELVE CARTS. By K. de B. Codrington, M.A., Victoria and Albert Museum. Illustrated.

190 The following notes, which are printed without emendation, were made at Farapur, in Nawab Sala Jungs Jargir, which lies on the Ajanta-Jalgaon road in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominion. It is a normal Deccan village, the inhabitants consisting of Mahratti speaking Kunbis and Mhars, with a strong intrusion of Muhammadan Mewatis, who live within the walls, and a lesser infiltration of Lamani carriers, who have their own settlements (*Tandas*) outside. The ceremony took place on Wednesday, 20 April, 1932, at sunset, this day being the day before the first full moon of the new year.

The dragging of the twelve carts to one or other of the local shrines, which, however, must be

that of a goddess, is carried out in many Mahratta villages on this day. In point of fact, the ceremony proper starts the year before, or even many years before, when the engagement is entered into before the goddess that *Bara Gari* will be performed if certain prayers are granted. In the case of the hook-swinging ceremony (*charak-puja*) of Southern India and Bengal, the ceremony is organized as a corporate act of worship; it is performed to check cholera, that is to say, to assuage the goddess, and it is common for devotees and bystanders upon whom the spirit falls to suffer it voluntarily, without any intentions exterior to the experience of the rite. Both with the hook-swinging and fire-walking, certain

devotees seem to make it a professional point always to do it. Here, everyone I have asked tells me that *Bara Gari* is always done as a fulfilment of a pledge, as, indeed, fire-walking usually is. I have noticed that those who have done it themselves do not like to speak of it,

undertaking. It is quite acceptable in India that the pledge should never be made on behalf of a girl. In the case of a male-child, born or unborn, a pledge may be made on his behalf, in which case the ceremony is not performed by proxy, but is deferred till the boy reaches the age of about nine or ten.



FIG. 1. SHRINE OF THE GODDESS MARIMATA, FARDAPUR.

although it is freely talked of in the village and I have had many lurid descriptions given me, the personalities implicated being pointed out. It seems plain that the engagement to do it is most usually made on account of protracted illness, often of the debilitating post-malarial kind

purposes in place of red-lead. Smaller outcrops in front of the shrine are also daubed red. The guardianship of this shrine is shared by two *pujaris* who belong to different and traditionally opposed castes. One is a Mhar and one a Mang. The Mhar sees to the receipt of offerings, especially while his colleague is officiating as deacon to the initiates. Since drumming is so prominent in the rite and all Mangs are musicians, it is probable that the Mang is the original officiant and that his collaboration with the Mhar is a compromise between the rival castes. Between them they share the offerings of the shrine, which they refer to as their *Haq*, the Arabic word which is attached to so many established interests in the Deccan.

Early in the morning the two officiants erect a verandah before the shrine. It consists of two crude uprights and three cross-pieces, from which hang twigs of *Nim* (*Azadirachta indica*), the trees being now in full bloom. In the late forenoon



FIG. 2. THE WOMEN GATHERING AT THE SHRINE FOR THE BARA GARI FESTIVAL.

or of chronic locally confined ulcerated conditions. It is also frequently made on behalf of sick children and, above all, in cases of barrenness. The pledge can, however, only be made by males. If the prayer is on behalf of a woman, one of the men of the house must shoulder the

those making the engagement come with food offerings of uncooked rice, jawari, ghi, oil, milk and water, and a live goat. The elder women of the house come with their men, but sit on one side, while the engagement is made. The Mhar gathers up the offerings into bags and baskets,

while the Mang is master of ceremonies, supervising the anointing of the stones with water, milk or oil, and the red powder. The declaration is then made: "If so-and-so happens, I will perform the *Bara-gari*." The principal stands before the goddess with hands folded in the classical posture of worship known as *Anjali*. The Mang then takes the goat beneath the verandah, douches it with water to make it shake its head, upon which it is immediately decapitated, either by the Mang himself, or, more usually, by the Muhammadan Mullah whose business it is to cut the throat of all beasts slaughtered as food with the usual Muhammadan invocation. The intrusion of this Muhammadan into a purely Hindu ceremony is explained by the fact that all meat food goes through his hands and that only the head is left before the goddess, the carcase being taken back to the house where the family hold a feast in the evening. This is purely a family affair to which no guests are invited. When the mullah officiates, he, of course, takes his usual toll of raw meat; for him the whole thing is purely secular and except that on this occasion he has to trudge out to the shrine, quite an every day affair.

This year four men made the engagement, one because he was childless, two for illness and one, apparently, for good-luck, perhaps to turn the luck or end a run of bad-luck. Whatever had been told me of the 'men' of former years, I could get no detailed information about this year's protagonists, neither with regard to those making nor fulfilling the pledge. They are referred to as 'the men.' The village has been very quiet all the morning. The men have been about their daily business, but hardly a woman was to be seen after the water-drawing was over. Psychologically this is a woman's festival, though they have no part in the rites, except in the preparation of 'the man' for the ordeal. In talking over former celebrations, barrenness recurs as the *raison d'être* again and again. There are, also, many references to luck; it is at any rate intelligible to undertake *Bara-gari* for the general welfare of the family. It is, indeed, a family rite. I suspect that certain families have what might be called a tradition of doing *Bara-gari*. Perhaps the adoption of Marimata as the house-god would account for this, only I am not at all certain what a house-god really is. In most cases the house-god is selected from the Khandobas and Mahsobas, male heroic deities. It must be pointed out that

the festival is a real high-day for the boys of the village, who actually ride in the carts at the time of the pulling. I do not believe that the thing is done in any way as a tribute to the goddess. The validity of the rite lies between magic and luck-bringing. I should describe it as founded upon a tradition of domestic heroism.

At about three in the afternoon 'the men,' who have eaten nothing since dawn and drunk only milk, are bathed and rubbed with turmeric by five married young women of the house or family; this ceremony corresponds exactly with the marriage turmeric-rubbing (*Haldilawane*) and is described in the same terms and with the same reactions, distinctly heroic, rather than merely luck-bringing. From this time it is clear that the protagonist is subject to intensely concentrated influences. He is stripped except for a waist-cloth (*langoti*): over this a *Rumal* (*pagri*) is tightly bound round the waist. In the case of a Kunbi, this is almost certainly scarlet; in the case of a boy, it is naturally his father's. Over this is tied, four or five times round the waist, a piece of new *ambadi* rope. It is by now full sunset. Meanwhile the women of the village have been presenting their offerings at the shrine. It lies over a mile from the Sarai gate and they can be seen coming along the old road, in family or, rather, household groups, one in each group carrying a brass tray with a bundle and two small *lotas* on it. They present at the shrine uncooked rice and *jawari*, milk or *dhai*, and water. The foodstuffs are poured in heaps, which the *pujari* removes from time to time; the water is poured over the stones and also the milk and *dhai*. Most of the worshippers touch the stones that represent the goddess with red powder or rub their right hands with the powder and press them against the rough trap. The little girls solemnly assist in the presentation of the offering, the boys, meanwhile, noisily playing round the carts which are being brought from the village one by one. In earlier times twelve carts are said to have been always used, but no one could say if it ever had been a matter of importance as to whose they were; they did not know if the *Patel's Haq* could ever have been implicated, that is to say, if the first cart had to be his. My impression is that this must have been so and that there is still a lingering sense that it is good to have a cart in the string. However, only six carts in all arrived. The oxen were turned loose or were loosely tethered, and their owners stood about talking

and smoking. The atmosphere was entirely secular and, in the absence of the women, I was deceived by it and expected nothing further. Conversation fluctuated and I found myself comparing the grain-offerings to an English harvest-festival, in answer to a question put from the crowd! All the time the women were arriving in two's and three's; their oblation made, they gathered together apart, in two or three large groups. They sat quietly on the grass, in their own place, on the other side of the unmade road that leads by the shrine. The Mang drummer at last took up his drum and went towards the town. The Police *Patel* complained loudly that he was late: six was the proper time, but they were never punctual. The boys were clambering in and out of the carts which had been tied head to tail in a string with lengths of ambadi rope; I had seen this being prepared in the town earlier in the afternoon. At the head was one of the large, old-fashioned field-carts, complete with yoke, the long shaft being obviously necessary for the ceremony. The shaft was bound, or, rather, whipped round its full length with rope, a double loop being left at the head, just long enough to clear it.

In spite of the *Patel's* protest, it is not until sundown that the protagonists are escorted by their women to the Hanuman Temple on the other side of the stream, by the old Mughal bridge. This shrine is the usual meeting-place at which most village ceremonies begin. Here they bow to the god and each breaks a coconut. They wait until the Mang and his drum arrives. He starts to drum as he comes through the village and they can hear him. He prostrates himself before the god and then, at once, and at a fast pace leads them back towards Marimata. The protagonists are known as *Galkari*, and in three cases, people would not tell me their names or castes, but said that I would see them when they came. At the sound of the approaching drum the boys, who were tumbling over each other in the carts, started the cry of '*Ai! Marimata ki Jai!*' which was repeated constantly. The men still stood about talking. The *Patel* came in for a certain amount of joking, because he would not shout the goddess's name, they said, because I was there. It had got quite dark. There was a dim light flickering in the shrine, but no other lights anywhere. The Mang and his group came by the old road, through the Kunbi quarter,

skirting the Sarai, not through the Mewatti quarter and along the new high road. They were seen suddenly just across the unmade road, between us and the women's darkly huddled groups, hurrying towards the shrine, each protagonist escorted by two men holding him by the arms. In the case of No. 3, the youth, possession was far advanced; he walked with an exaggerated prancing stride, head flung back. The pace was almost a run. Beside the Mang, who maintained his drumming, and the three three's made by the protagonists and their escorts, an old woman moved ecstatically with her arms held up and her fingers opening and closing to the drum beats. There were no other women near; they were all sitting across the road and did not even get up. This old woman was a Mhar and known to be given to possession. The first two protagonists were Kunbis and about nine or ten years old. The third, a youth of about eighteen, was a Mhar.

They passed out of sight to the shrine, the Mang drumming incessantly, the beat increasing in speed. A moment later, the first boy appeared running between his two supporters, behind the Mang. In his hands was a brass tray on which were a number of cotton wicks soaked in oil, one having been lit from the light before the goddess. The upper part of the body and the features seemed rigid and the eyes quite sightless. His supporters pushed their way at a run down the south side of the line of carts and round the tail, back to the head on the other side, thus completing the circumambulation. He was then lifted clear into the air by his supporters, above the shaft with its loop on which the double hook had been tied just previously by the Mhar pujari. The Mang still further increased the speed of his drumming and the old woman shuffled to and fro in front. It was obviously difficult to get the hook securely fixed over the boy's waist rope. Suddenly there was a united shout of '*Ai! Marimata ki Jai!*' and the three or four men who had helped to fix the hook threw their weight behind the yoke. The carts moved and travelled jerkily forward about ten yards, accompanied by frenzied shouting and drumming. The boy's feet were, I am certain, not on the ground, as proved by the fact that he had his arms round the necks of his supporters who were full-grown men. They, however, undoubtedly were pulling him forward and the strain on his body must have been extreme. The main motive power clearly came

from the three or four men behind the yoke, helped on by five or six men who were pulling on the wheel-spokes. As if by common agreement, the run was stopped and the boy released, still high in his supporters' arms. They immediately and at full speed ran with him to the shrine, accompanied by the Mang. There was a slight lull in the tension, except for the excitement of the boys in the carts. I noticed that there were a few old women in the crowd. One man had a brief argument with another as to whether one should push the carts or not; it seems clear one should help to push, just as it is good to act as supporter. The objector obviously spoke for my benefit, to suggest that the carts moved by themselves, since the boy could not possibly drag them. This is, perhaps, the orthodox belief. The movement is a manifestation of the power of the goddess. I could not get very near the boy, not being prepared for the speed of the return to the shrine, but he seemed in total collapse, his legs swinging loosely as he was carried.

This identical ceremony was repeated with the second boy. This time I saw that the lighted wick was put on the end of the shaft and apart from its ceremonial value, was necessary for getting the hook fixed. The tray had been put on the ground near by. The second boy was quite limp, although he lurched forward in his supporters' arms as the shout went up and the drum beat. The carts were only moved about four yards. During the tying-up this time I saw that some one was sprinkling the boy with liquid from a bowl with a *Nim* twig. No one seemed to know exactly who she was; but, as I expected, the liquid was cow's urine.

No. 3, a tall youth, of his own accord ran towards the carts between his supporters and at the touch of the shaft on his back, was entirely carried away, having to be held back by his supporters, who could hardly restrain him. In this case also a woman sprinkled cow's urine and was recognized as his mother. When the carts moved the youth threw himself madly forward, but cannot have exerted very much force: the lower body was protruded and the legs pranced jerkily, being raised exaggeratedly high. Here I saw that there were three men pushing hard at the yoke and two more pulling at the shaft. On my side, also, there were at least five men pulling at the wheel-spokes. The carts moved forward about eight yards and then stopped, but the youth was still

wildly struggling forward and the carts were moved four yards further on before his wild energy was exhausted. From here the ground rises somewhat to the shrine, which is thirty yards further on and this is obviously the end of the course. I followed the youth to the shrine, where he fell prostrate under the *Mandap*. His mother pushed forward and took his head in her lap and gave him water from a *lota* which was handed down. He was then entirely prostrated, the limbs relaxed, the eyes open but sightless, the pupils widely dilated. The pulse was rhythmically irregular.

This was the end, and before I returned to the carts five minutes later, some had been already harnessed and people were climbing in. All passed us on the road, the atmosphere being entirely male and quite Bank Holiday. There was no drumming or music in the town at night, but the boys made holiday until past ten.

Some general notes, in conclusion :—

It is very difficult to express the quality of the emotion of this ceremony. Among the men it is largely a matter of turning out and shouting. The women are very intense, however; the preliminary giving of offerings is done very quietly and dignifiedly. The drama from the point of view of the protagonist is evident. It is, however, difficult to say anything of the actual tradition. With the boys, I am sure the heroic dominates—it is one of the very few star turns of village life. They probably all hope that they will get a chance of doing it. In the case of boys whose parents engaged for them in the days of their childlessness, it has, of course, been hanging over their heads all their lives.

The idea that the protagonist is filled with the goddess is acknowledged; it is commonplace in India. I think that there is a feeling that the carts must move, a feeling which I have described as having something to do with luck. The parallels with the *Charak Puja* are not as near as they seem. The hook is in common, but little else. This is, after all, a village festival; it is held in the first month of the year, when the fields are empty and the ploughing is about to be taken seriously in hand. The motives seem to be always family ones, childlessness dominating. As I have pointed out, the festival is serious enough for the women, though they do not take any public part in it. To the boys who crowd the carts it is obviously a great thrill. The Mhar

pajari, and the men who do the hooking up, know exactly what to do and seem only to try to get it done as quickly as possible. It is probable that disasters are remembered. The memory of the excitement of the first movement must play a large part in the protagonist's mental state. The two boys in this case were tired out before they arrived at the shrine. The youth, however, was definitely possessed. It was clearly the culminating moment of a long preparation.

The carts were drawn up in a line in the field parallel to the road. No one remembered it being any different. Up to the last moment it was said that there would be twelve carts. As the second boy was being hooked up a man shouted laugh-

ingly to a small boy: "Why aren't you in a cart? Hurry up and get in!" At the beginning, the leading cart was about 55 yards from the shrine. The hook used was a double one overlapping round the waist-rope. Tradition says that originally the hook after insertion into the lumbar muscles was carefully bound over so that it could not pull away; the *pagri* used as a waist-cloth is probably, therefore, original. Since Bentinck's day and the suppression of the hook in the back, the attitude may have changed somewhat, but not, I think, radically. In the case of adults, possession is far gone before the hooking process is arrived at; in the case of children, exhaustion has long ago provided adequate anaesthesia.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

Anthropology at the British Association for the Advancement of Science: Cambridge, 17-24 August, 1938.

Under the presidency of Professor V. Gordon Childe, the Anthropological Section devoted much of its time to prehistoric archaeology, but other subjects were represented by important papers.

The *Swanscombe skull fragments* were discussed in detail; the finder, Mr. A. T. Marston, giving a full account of the discovery of the occipital and left parietal bones of a young adult, in the stratified Middle Gravels of the Barnfield pit, with interglacial fauna, and Acheulian implements. His description of the character and approximate age of these Middle Gravels was supplemented by Prof. W. B. R. King: they are part of the Boyn Hill ("100 ft.") terrace of the Thames valley, filling up the 'Clacton channel' eroded in the 'Lower Gravels'; but the sequence south of the present Thames differs from that on the north, which represents deposits closer to the margin of the glaciated area. Mr. M. A. C. Hinton confirmed the description of the Swanscombe fauna, and Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes the sequence of worked flints, Clactonian in the Lower Gravel and Lower Loam, Early Middle Acheulian in the Middle Gravel associated with the human remains. Mr. Marston's interpretation of these bones differed from those of Sir Arthur Keith and Prof. Le Gros Clark who regarded them as closely related to *Homo sapiens* on the evidence available, but with the caution that the face-bones might reveal very different characters. Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, however, found resemblances to the Piltdown skull.

Other papers on Physical Anthropology were Sir Arthur Keith's *Re-examination of the Piltdown problem*, and *Early Palestinians*; the account of *Prehistoric skulls recently excavated in Cyprus*, mainly of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age by Mr. M. M. Rix; Dr. Henry Field's preliminary survey of *Human Varieties in Iran*, tracing Mediterranean types far eastward from Arabia, but establishing related but distinct types on the Iranian plateau

itself, and also elements common to Iran with Turkestan and with Northern India; and (at the last moment) Dr. R. Broom's discovery of a fresh fossil variety, *Paranthropus robustus*, from the Sterkfontein cave near Pretoria, with generally anthropoid characters, but human palate and dentition, characterized by Sir Arthur Keith as one of the most revolutionary discoveries in this field (*cf. Nature*, 24 August, 1938).

Larger issues were raised in a formal discussion of the *Middle Palaeolithic* period, which Mr. M. C. Burkitt defined as that of the various flake industries of early Europe, connecting their principal varieties with the two main human varieties, eastern and western, and the no-man's-land between their habitats. Sir Arthur Keith described the relations between these physical types at Ehringsdorf, Steinheim, Krapina, and in Palestine; Dr. F. E. Zeuner summarized the geological evidence, and correlated the Mauer specimen with an early phase of the Mindel glaciation, Steinheim with early Riss, Ehrenschorf with the Riss-Würm interval, and the Neanderthal group with the Würm-oscillations. Miss D. A. E. Garrod dealt with the Palestinian evidence, which begins in Breuil's Tayacian culture, early in the Riss-Würm interval, and goes on to the long Levallois-Mousterian cycle, transitional to Würm I. Mr. A. L. Armstrong noted the links between the European sequence and the South African Acheulean and Aurignacian. Dr. K. P. Oakley recurred to the Thames Valley, where the Early Clactonian flake industry antedates the Middle Acheulean culture; the Monsterial industry in the Main Combe Rock is early Levalloisian; the 'arctic' peats of Ponder's End are late Levalloisian, not Magdalenian. Mr. T. T. Paterson indicated the places of the earlier flake industries in the pleistocene deposits of the Thames Valley; and the Abbé Breuil submitted a fresh interpretation of the *Thirty-metre Terrace of the Somme*. Mr. Percy Leason reviewed current ideas of *Quaternary Art*, in respect of its ability to depict action, pointing

out that the cave drawings betrayed the use of dead animals as models, and the study of them from a lower view-point than would have been possible with living subjects.

Mr. G. E. Daniel described the *Port-holed Megaliths* of Britain, and discussed their distribution and significance.

Local archaeology was represented by the papers of Mr. C. W. Phillips on the *Roman occupation of the Fenland*; Mr. T. C. Lethbridge on *Weapons from Fenland Waterways*, which frequently fall into groups related with military actions in historic times, or invasions inferred from other evidence; and Dr. J. D. Grahame Clark on *Recent Excavations in the Fens*.

Following on Miss E. W. Gardner's graphic account of *Pleistocene terraces and palaeoliths in South Arabia*, Miss G. Caton-Thompson described contributions to *Archaeology in the Hadhramaut*, from middle palaeolithic implements on the desert plateau and in valley gravels, to settlements and tombs with South Arabian inscriptions and a culture remotely influenced by Egypt and perhaps Syria. Variations of climate were recognized, but definite chronology must depend on information from inscriptions.

Miss Winifred Lamb summarized her excavation of a prehistoric site at Kusura, near Afyon in Anatolia, in the borderland between the western culture represented by Hissarlik, Yortan and Thermi, and the central group of sites, Alishar, Boghaz-köy, etc. The town has a chalcolithic period (A) with monochrome pottery; then a western culture (B) prevails, with plastic decoration, and mudbrick houses. A transitional period, with wheel-made pottery and 'red-cross' bowls, as in Hissarlik V, leads in the second millennium to Hittite influences (C) and fortification. The cemetery (of period A) has pit-burials and cist-graves.

The President, Professor V. Gordon Childe, in his Address, *The Orient and Europe*, discussed the grounds on which prehistory in general, and British prehistory in particular, claim to be a science. Prehistory is experimental only in a limited sense; even excavation cannot be repeated. But prehistory can formulate general rules as guides to successful action, i.e., to the acquisition of fresh knowledge. Its data are facts, substantial and public; its method is an impartial and objective study of them; not forcing the facts to fit a biased and distorted political dogma, as in some foreign countries, or such beliefs as have been recently broadcast, and published in the *Listener*. Speculation is indeed necessary for the strictly scientific purpose of ascertaining fresh facts and guiding research; but fact must be kept distinct from hypothesis.

An example of justifiable hypothesis is Montelius' belief, in 1899, that "the civilization which gradually dawned on our Continent was for long only a pale reflection of Oriental culture." This was itself a complex of hypotheses, assuming diffusion of culture, that 'type-fossils' distinguishing prehistoric periods in Europe recur in historical periods in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Aegean, and that

civilization is therefore later in Europe than in the East. Subsequent excavation has revealed a continuous province of interlocking cultural phenomena from the Tigris to the Rhine, and established the high antiquity of Oriental cultures, in Egypt and Sumeria. Crucial links have been established recently in Anatolia; the Anatolian ancestry of the Macedonian bronze-age culture has been demonstrated; and Macedonia has been correlated culturally with the Danube basin, permitting further correlations between the Minoan culture and Central Europe. North-westward from the Orient there is significant cultural zoning, exactly as would be deduced from Montelius' axiom, without conflict with geological criteria or surrender of archaeological principles. It is a further question whether the higher dates in archaeology are more than 'upper limits'; since there are typological correlations which suggest lower dates—even a thousand years later—especially between Aegean and Danubian finds. On either scheme, however, a continuous area of interlocking cultural gradations has been established scientifically, on the lines proposed by Montelius in 1899.

Professor Stanley Cook dealt with the *Re-discovery of the ancient Orient, in its bearing on modern thought*. The 'unchanging East' now provides positive material for reconsidering our conceptions of the processes of human development: ethical, humanist, scientific and philosophical interests arise in the middle of the first millennium B.C., comparable with the changes now in progress over a much wider area.

A group of papers on *Ritual* reviewed the subject from various points of view. Mr. A. M. Hocart dissociated *Ritual and Emotion*; for ritual has a logical structure, the result of working out a problem, and incidentally satisfies the emotions: but if emotion gets the upper hand, that structure vanishes, leaving only ejaculations and movements. Similar results follow emotional interference in the sciences and the arts. Mrs. Chadwick examined the relations of *Ritual and Tradition*. Prof. S. H. Hooke analyzed early documentary material for *Ritual and Myth*, from Sumeria, Babylonia, Egypt, and from Hittite and Canaanite sources. Some early myths are 'basic' and common to these regions; describing, as actions of gods, divine kings, and semi-divine heroes, certain ritual situations characteristic of these early societies. From these ritual situations, it is possible to trace the emergence of history. Prof. H. J. Rose, comparing *Ritual and Magic*, defined 'ritual' as a series of actions, generally of religious import, forming a pattern: 'magic' he used in a modification of the Frazerian sense, without implying priority in time to 'worship.' Ritual may be dramatic, setting forth a myth; or a series of acts of worship, to win favour or avert anger; or magical, designed to secure some desirable end by actions deemed efficacious in themselves. The *Lupercalia* festival in early Rome was addressed to no deity, but drew a magic circle round the settlement, ensuring fertility, and warding off quasi-supernatural harm feared from wolves. An independent illustration of these concepts in action was

Dr. M. Fortes' account of the *Tong Hill 'fetish' in the Gold Coast*, a cult which blends reverence for earth and ancestors, ceremonies of initiation, festivals at set seasons, magic, and oracle: it is believed to confer fertility and prosperity and to be omniscient. It has been exploited recently by an enterprising head-man, and is so lucrative that it has split the Hill clans into factions.

Folklore and kindred studies were represented by the papers of Mr. K. Jackson on *Calendar Customs in the Eastern Counties*, Miss B. and Mr. L. F. Newman on *Birth Customs in East Anglia*, a non-fairy district with characteristically English appreciation of the magical qualities of the caul; Lord Raglan, on *Survivals in Dress*; and Mr. C. Foulkes, C.B., O.B.E., on the *Equipment of the Soldier*, tracing the cumulative impediments of fighting men, from classical to recent times—cumbrous armour, unpractical weapons, and the like: the turning-point is so recent as the Boer War, though Indian experience earlier in the nineteenth century led to minor improvements.

Technological contributions were rare; by Mr. I. C. Peate on *Some Welsh Light on the Development of the Chair*; Mrs. Hingston Quiggin on *Primitive Money*, illustrated by the collection in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; Sir Richard Paget, Bt., on the *Influence of Sign Language on Civilization*, tracing the origin of civilization to the Aurignacian infancy of gesture and pictorial art, and urging the co-operation of anthropologists and linguists; by Mr. B. R. S. Megaw on *Manx house-types*, and by Mr. J. Hornell on the *Polygenetic origins of plank-built boats*, insisting that sound procedure distinguishes four types of these vessels, clinker-built, carved-built, the frameless river-craft of ancient Egypt and present-day Nubia, and the junks of China, with bulkheads in place of frames.

Sociological questions were examined, by Mr. R. F. Peel, *Local intermarriage and the stability of rural population in the English Midlands*; by Prof. C. Daryll Forde, *The stability of unilineal kin groups*, demonstrated by field data from communities of declining and of increasing population; and by Miss Margaret Murray, *Some sociological aspects of Cambridge*, a superficial mis-interpretation of the peculiarities of all university towns, and some others.

The *Australian Aborigine and the problems of administrations* were described by Dr. Donald F. Thomson, and especially the undetribalized native, still in possession of his culture and social organization. He recommended absolute segregation; that Native Reserve Arnhem Land and other similar reserves be declared inviolable; that watering depôts on reserved coasts be abolished; that the police constables be no longer also 'protectors of

'aboriginals'; and that special courts be established to deal with natives and native offences, because punishment under white man's law inflicts no social stigma on a native. A separate Department of Native Affairs, with a trained director and staff, is indispensable. The fine films exhibited in illustration of it by Prof. Radcliffe Brown and others, emphasized its warnings and recommendations.

A newly discovered *Language of the Pygmies* in Central Africa was described by Rev. E. W. Smith. Dr. E. J. Lindgren described *Winter Life in Swedish Lapland*, where recent Karesuando folk from the north have intruded among the Jokkmokk inhabitants of the Sirkas district of Norrbottens-län. Pasture for the reindeer herds is the most urgent preoccupation, as heavy snow, superficially frozen, may cause whole herds to starve. Increased facilities for travel lead to new commercial contacts, and free discussion of native problems with government officials. In illustration was shown the colour film taken by Mr. N. A. C. Croft. J. L. M.

Correlations of Culture.

192 In his Presidential Address to the Geographical Section, on *Correlations of Culture*, Professor Griffith Taylor insisted on the comparative study of distributions of human activities, "an ecological approach to problems in 'Culture,' and the application of his well-known 'Zone and Strata' research-diagrams to questions so different as the relationships of the main human breeds, of the Aryan languages, and of other main elements of civilization. As between Ritter's notion of 'providential' control of human activities, Ratzel's 'environmental' control, and the 'possibilism' of Vidal de la Blache, Professor Griffith Taylor holds that 'man is not a free agent, but definitely a product of his environment.' How the idea of 'choice of possibilities' has arisen, he illustrates from industrial development in Canada, and from the evolution of social groups in Europe under environmental controls of climate, topography, and coal resources. He compares man's part in the process to that of a policeman, who can accelerate, retard, or halt the traffic, but does not alter its direction. But he admits that man's use of Nature's endowment in various countries must be based on a scientific understanding of their relative values. If man tries to direct his industrial evolution in a way for which his environment is not suitable, he himself is the sufferer. A corollary is a programme of reformed education; the vital centre in the realm of thought being the point where science and philosophy meet, within the study of cultural geography. J. L. M.

REVIEWS.

RELIGION.

Objets Rituels, Croyances et Dieux de la Chine Antique et de l'Amérique. By Carl Hentze, Professor in the University of Ghent. *Édition de Sikkal, Antwerp, 1936.* 119 pp. with 225 figures and 12 plates.

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This book is a very remarkable contribution to the comparative study of parallels existing between the ancient American and early Chinese and Siberian civilizations. As indicated in the title, the author offers some monographs on various special subjects

out of the numerous themes embraced by this fascinating problem. The book is divided into seven chapters; (I) The Tao Tieh; (II) The one-legged K'oei—The horns of the K'oei—The snakes with plumage and horns; (III) Parallels between the Ural-Altaic, North-west American, and Pre-Columbian (i.e., Mexican, Central American, and South American) civilizations; (IV) The trunk-mask and the antlered mask; (V) Types of early Chinese gods and their American parallels; (VI) Typological evolution of the Tao Tieh mask; (VII) Conclusions and additional observations. The author's leading aspect is to seek a common psychological background of certain resemblances between both ritual objects and decorative art among the peoples inhabiting the continents west and east of the Pacific. Prof. Hentze suggests that this common spiritual source of similar artistic or decorative elements lies in identical mythological ideas representing their common underlying principles. Thus, while the same problem had been grasped from mainly technological aspects by Professor Perceval Yetts, Professor Walter Krickeberg (in a hitherto unpublished lecture delivered in the *Ethnologisches Colloquium*, Berlin, in or about 1930) and myself,¹ Professor Hentze deals with it from the religious and mythological point of view whereby he arrives at astonishing results. It is true that he was not the first to study the mythological ideas which the various peoples here considered have in common, and he frankly acknowledges the suggestions received from Professor Wilhelm Koppers² and his predecessors. Still the fresh material added to our knowledge by Hentze himself is enormous and will certainly give rise to fruitful discussions. In particular, the idea of combining the study of mythology with that of material objects on a large scale is undoubtedly new. As a matter of course, the author thoroughly deals with the Tao Tieh which occurs as early as the Yin epoch (1400-1200 B.C.; excavations at An-yang, northern Honan) and the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.). The famous bronze vessels of the later period representing a monster with a human figure in its mouth (the few specimens existing could be seen at the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, London, 1935-36, catalogue Nos. 238 and 243) are now generally supposed to represent the demon of the darkness being identical with the new moon from which the crescent emanates. But is it definitely clear whether that sculpture may be identified with the so-called Tao Tieh mask so frequently appearing in the centre of the linear designs or reliefs decorating the early Chinese bronzes, where the human being is missing and the type of the monster is also not quite the same? Professor Hentze correctly recognizes the different types of the Tao Tieh mask (chapter VI, pp. 101 et seq.) grouping these as follows: "I. de monstres fantastiques. Ces masques ne rappellent de façon déterminée aucun animal connu. II. autres objets, où l'effigie du Tao Tieh se rapproche plus ou moins distinctement des formes naturelles de quelque animal." The latter group may be divided (pp. 102-104) into types derived from, respectively, cornigerous animals, owl, and—perhaps—pig and wolf. The falciform horns are interpreted as symbols of the crescent (p. 103), which is a frequent theory to explain the coincidence of agriculture and lunar cult. This theory is fascinating here if one is *a priori* convinced that we are faced with a mythological signification and not only with a deco-

orative element. It should not be overlooked, however, that the so-called 'horns' of the Tao Tieh mask have by no means always the shape of a crescent but frequently that of an interrogation point (see e.g., MAN, 1936, 3, fig. 3). On the other hand, the owl, being a typical night-bird, is associated with the monster with falciform horns, thus indicating "la formation d'un complexe symbolique qui ne peut viser autre chose que l'astre de la nuit." It may be noted here that among the Kwakiutl Indians, too, an owl's head appears on globular rattles, while the other hemisphere is occupied by the face of the sun. Professor Hentze very carefully suggests that, where the Tao Tieh mask may perhaps be explained as a pig, this might indicate a matrilineal society combined with lunar mythology, while a wolf or similar animal might have originated from a 'totemistic' (or "pseudo-totemistic") culture of hunters (p. 104). This statement that in reality different cultures must have run parallel at the Yin-epoch (p. 104) is very important and, after all, convincing. No less solid is Professor Hentze's statement that it is no longer possible to seek a homogeneous origin of the Tao Tieh mask. This corresponds to my own opinion expressed in MAN, 1936, 3 (ad IV) and long before. Still, Professor Hentze considers that "les variétés de masques du Tao Tieh illustrent les multiples fonctions du monstre mythique" (p. 101; the italics are mine). That means obviously that the Tao Tieh should at last be regarded as one single being, though appearing in various forms. If I am not mistaken here I am afraid I cannot agree with the author, since I hold that the altogether different forms signify as many different beings. To explain these, it seems to me to be risky to analyse the highly stylized designs of the Chou period mythologically before trying to disentangle those complicated ornaments from the technical point of view. Although it is now generally recognized that mask dances existed in ancient China we must assume that those masks were belonging to respective complete beings. This holds good also for the Tao Tieh masks represented in the relief ornaments of bronze vessels. Or, as I put it in MAN, 1936, 3: "I suggest that the Tao Tieh mask was originally no mask at all, but the head of an animal, and that the decorative details round it are not independent, but originally formed part of its structure. In the course of a very long development they were separated from the body of the animal, and were distorted in the same way as also undoubtedly occurred in the case in North-West America, where the final stage of development can be seen in the Chilkat blankets." The separation of a horned beast's head from its body could be very clearly seen from the bronze (Han dynasty) No. 388 shown at the Chinese Exhibition, London. Another phenomenon which we must bear in mind is the principle No. 8 set out in MAN, 1936, 3, (ad I). The representation of one single animal by two symmetrical profiles together with the transformation of linear details into new beings bring about the appearing of pairs of animals, such as snakes, which were originally neither intended to represent, nor have, consequently, anything to do with the original drawing and thus also not with the original underlying idea. The double-headed snake, then—called 'sisiutl' in N.W. America—is something entirely different from those pairs of snakes which we come across on the Chou bronzes. It is impossible to enter into more details here, but the above example may suffice to show how extraordinarily rich of suggestions the book is. The good illustrations, mainly drawings, but also 12 plates with photographs, add to the value of Professor Hentze's work. It is true that some of his comparisons are not convincing

¹ See MAN, 1936, 3.

² Compare "Der Hund in der Mythologie der zirkumpazifischen Völker," by Wih. Koppers (Prof. in the University of Vienna) in Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, I, Vienna, 1930.

as, for example, figures 170/171 and 175, but most of them are, and some are simply amazing, as e.g., figures 51 and 52 (a Chinese bronze belonging to Baron Sumitomo, and a clay vessel from northern Peru, published by T. A. Joyce in "A Short Guide to the American Antiquities of the British Museum," Oxford, 1912, fig. 38, No. 1).

We are glad to note that Professor Hentze reserves his opinion as regards direct historical connexion between China and ancient America. However uncertain the dates of most of the ancient American civiliza-

tions may be, they are in any case much more recent than the early Chou epoch, let alone the Yin period. The striking resemblances and parallels may, then, be explained by the similar mentality of more or less consanguineous races which eventually arrived at similar mythological ideas and likewise similar artistic techniques. To sum up: the book offers an enormous material of facts and fascinating theories, and the learned author must be congratulated on his excellent contribution to both Asiatic and American archaeology and mythology.

LEONARD ADAM.

SOCIOLOGY.

The Family: its Sociology and Social Psychiatry.

By Joseph Kirk Folsom. (Wiley Social Science Series.) London: Chapman & Hall, 1934. 9 x 5½. xiii + 604 pp., bibliography. Price 25s.

This book surveys all available data on the social and sexual aspects of family life in the United States, together with the author's views as to conclusions to be drawn from these data.

He starts by setting out, in parallel columns, what he calls the family patterns of the Trobriander, as described by Professor Malinowski, and of the typical American. He goes on to show from this and from other considerations that behaviour often described as natural, is really conditioned, and divides all human behaviour into 'cultural' and 'subcultural.' In the latter he includes types of behaviour which may be supposed to be innate, and also those which, while not innate, are acquired by the general run of humanity in the process of growth, irrespective of the culture-pattern of their group. He regards fighting and love-making as sub-cultural but not instinctive (p. 47).

Discussing love and social interaction, he concludes that it must be studied in terms of wishes, frustrations and social conflicts. Very little light is to be obtained by going back to biology (p. 93).

He goes on to discuss at length a number of family problems—the problem of controlling reproduction; the economics of children and the home; marriage and mate-finding; divorce; the love *mores*. In the next part he discusses difficulties of adjustment between husband and wife and parents and children. In the last part he considers, in the light of data drawn from Russia and Germany, as well as from America, the possible developments of the family which the future may hold in store.

As a sociological work the book is quite admirable. The author has reduced a vast quantity of data to a compendious form, and discusses all the problems which he has set himself in a completely detached and scientific manner. From the anthropological point of view one criticism may be made: like most sociologists the author is too free and easy in his treatment of taboo. He tells us (p. 98) that "there need be no

"inherent logic or rationality in the particular taboos; "they may arise out of chance circumstances. If a "group happens to be defeated in battle and it happens "to be called to their attention that one of the members "has recently had sexual intercourse with a woman of "the ABC clan, or a woman with red hair, or at the "full of the moon, or under any particularly definable "circumstances, all the blind forces of sexual avoidance "may become attached to this circumstance and lead "to a permanent taboo." This may possibly be so, but there is not the slightest evidence for it.

The author's style is clear and terse, though he has an irritating habit of using 'one' followed by 'he' or 'his.' We read on p. 410 that when the choice is finally made, "and the last dam to the sex drive "released, then that drive is safely anchored to its "individual goal"; but this seems to be a quotation rather than a lapse.

RAGLAN.

The Harēm, An Account of the Institution as it existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans, with a History of the Grand Seraglio from its Foundation to the Present Time. By N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1936. 277 pp., 42 plates, 1 large folding plan. Price 21s.

This is a historical and descriptive account, excellently written and beautifully printed, of the Sultan's palace and its site at Constantinople, with special reference to the *harēmlik*, but also including a short history of the janissaries, the black and the white eunuchs, and the pages, and an account of eunuchism in many lands. The architecture is dealt with in detail and illustrated with many excellent photographs. There is also a full description of the women's costumes and their toilet habits, including not only the *harēm* baths but also the public baths of Constantinople and Brusa, to which the author submitted himself in his search for local colour. The style of writing is very pleasant, and the narrative is stuffed with spice on all sorts of unexpected subjects, such as Turkish delight, *rahat lokum*.

CANNING SUFFERN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

The Foundations of Roman Italy. By Joshua Whatmough. London: Methuen, 1937. xviii + 420 pp., xi plates, 148 illustrations in text, 8 maps, 1 chronological table. Price 25s. net.

It was said about a century ago by J. Hartung that the task of the historian of Roman religion was like that of an archaeologist who must seek under the ruins of a temple for traces of an earlier shrine upon which it was built. For the prehistorian of Italy the difficulties are yet greater: he is groping for what may prove to be no more than the traces of hut-circles under the immense remains of a structure the size of the Baths of Diocletian. The might and majesty of Rome so impressed the world for many centuries, and so affected its imagination for

centuries more, that the smaller, yet not insignificant nor barbarous, cultures which she displaced were forgotten, relegated to a passing mention in some collection of legends, or exposed to the fancies and frauds of the most untrustworthy type of antiquarian. We see now, when the damage has long been done, that without a knowledge of Roman origins Rome is inexplicable, and without knowing the prehistory and protohistory of the peninsula we should still be at a loss to explain those origins, even if our documentation for them were as complete and trustworthy as for the Peloponnesian War or the defeat of the Armada.

The laudable attempts to fill this gap have resulted in the amassing of a vast and miscellaneous quantity

of material, archaeological, anthropological and linguistic, rapidly passing beyond the scope of anyone but a specialist, and putting specialists in the difficult position of having to regard the complicated problems which arise from the too narrow point of view which their own studies give them. There has long been urgent need of a book which should at least outline the known facts and the reasonably certain conclusions from them within a space such as would not frighten off the inquirer by its bulk and consequent expense. Now this has been done, and, so far as the reviewer can judge, looking at it as he must from the non-specialist's angle, the doing has been adequate and merits our warm thanks, whether we start from the study of ancient religions, of the races of Europe, of the early history of the Mediterranean region or, as Professor Whatmough has done, from that of the linguistic problems. It should be emphasized at once that he has taken his task too seriously to be content with a linguistic survey, but has acquired a knowledge of the antiquities of Italy such as more than one professed archaeologist might envy, and blended the two forms of knowledge, and all that he could find from other sources, most judiciously. The result is not a complete picture, for such a thing is not to be had; but the author has let the gaps stand, honestly preferring this to filling them up with specious restorations derived from his own sense of what is probable.

So we are briefly told what is known (and it is often painfully little) first (chaps. I, II) of the sources of information and the climatic features of the country; then successively (chap. III) of the prehistoric cultures in general, from the paleolithic to iron; of the ancient languages (chap. IV); it is noteworthy that except for the datable invaders, Etruscan or Greek, no trace has yet been found of any speech not belonging to the Wiro group; and then, in geographical order, beginning with Liguria and ending with the islands, Sicily and the rest (chaps. V-XVI) of the various regions and their characteristics, including everybody except the Greeks, who are taken as known, and in any case are neither pre- nor protohistorical. Then again come more general considerations, religion, literature and government in chap. XVII and finally (chap. XVIII and last) the outline history of the unification of the country, from the earliest attempts down to Mussolini.

The reviewer finds here and there something to disagree with, practically nothing to set down definitely as wrong, and feels confident that others who view it from other angles than his own will come to like conclusions, and join with him in praising the sane caution and reverence for proof as against vague possibility which has kept out of this book so great a multitude of rash and ingeniously unsound hypotheses. H. J. ROSE.

The Alishar Hüyük : Season of 1930-32. By H. H. von der Osten (Oriental Institute of Chicago Publications, XXVIII-XXX. 3 parts:—I, xxi + 283 pp., x plates; II, xxi + 481 pp., xiv plates; III, xxiv + 496 pp., xv plates. Chicago, 1937.

The three volumes not only describe the results of the last three years' operations; they also recapitulate the data previously obtained so fully that reference to former volumes will be needed only for unusual objects and special measurements. To eliminate the confusion caused by mistaken diagnosis of the cultural sequence—Period III really precedes II—a new terminology has been introduced. The former Alishar I becomes the 'Copper Age,' Alishar III (with painted Cappadocian ware) is termed 'Early Bronze Age,' Alishar II is labelled 'Hittite,' and IV becomes 'Post-Hittite Phrygian.' Finally a new phase is introduced at the beginning of the sequence and termed 'Chalcolithic.'

The Chalcolithic phase, represented by seven architectural layers (Nos. 19 to 12) and 11 m. of debris accumulated from the decay of mud huts, is entirely new. It is characterized by grit-tempered, polished 'grey buff,' i.e., mud-coloured, vases; some are 'black topped.' Fine black ware occurs in layers 14 upwards, red sporadically in all levels, but becomes common only in 13-12. The characteristic form is the "fruitstand," the earliest specimens being extraordinarily like the Danubian ones. Handles seem to have been rare at first, but layer 14 produced two-handled tankards with cupped bases. A few painted sherds occur as early as layer 17: incised and excised patterns are more common. Stamp-seals of stone, copper, clay or lead are found in layers 12 and 13; an impression in 17. Traces of metal were found throughout; but the burials of 13 and 14 (in bare earth, mats, stone or wooden cists, and children in jars) were regularly accompanied by copper and silver ornaments. Implements of obsidian and chert, and perforated stone maceheads or hammers (? axes), were plentiful but not a single celt is mentioned.

The terminology used in describing pottery is accurately defined in each part. In all volumes excellent colour-plates supplement description. A comparison of the originals with the plates in Chicago last year established the perfection of the reproductions. Sectional drawings are also given, but do not always bring out relevant points—e.g., the cupped base of ϵ 2100. In addition to the descriptions of architectural remains, relics, and burials from all levels in parts I-III, part III contains technical appendices on cranial types, animal remains, coins, grains, metal, etc. Krogman devotes 60 pages to the cranial types and their relation to other racial types. Judging by the indiscriminating use of sources—the opinions of Childe and Günther seem to be given as much weight as those of competent anatomists—the value of his comparisons may be doubted. One fact, however, is quite clear: the earliest human remains from Central Anatolia do not belong to a brachycranial Amenoid race. Round heads, appearing first in the Early Bronze Age, predominate only in the Hittite Period—6 out of 12; the post-Hittite and Roman skulls are again long. Von Luschan's ingenious guess, treated as a fact by a generation of copyists, had better be discarded. Not a shred of positive evidence indicates Anatolia as a reservoir of brachycephals who overflowed into Europe to bring neolithic culture thither.

In a final chapter von der Osten sums up the results of the six years' campaign. From the standpoint of comparative chronology it is regrettable that no subdivisions of the Hittite pottery, such as Bittel has established stratigraphically at Bogaz Köy, have been recognized at Alishar. Yet, as this fabric is associated with inscribed documents dated to the twentieth century B.C., it must have been current for 700 years! Consequently it remains uncertain how far the Early Bronze Age represents a distinct period, anterior to the foundation of the 'Old Hittite Empire,' and so how far the goblets of Troadic type, from the Copper Age layer 7, really antedate 1900 B.C. An imported seal of Jemdet-Nasr type from layer 8, is however, favourable to the excavator's view that the Copper Age should last from 3000 to 2400 or 2000 B.C. In that case the Chalcolithic must go far back into the fourth millennium. This would tend to enhance considerably the antiquity of Danubian neolithic, even if we are not prepared to follow von der Osten's hint that the Chalcolithic culture of Central Anatolia should be derived from the Danubian: for the agreements with the Tisza and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures or the Middle Danube are too numerous to be treated as accidental. V. G. C.

The Geology and Archaeology of the Vaal River Basin.

198 By P. G. Söhne, D. J. L. Visser, and C. Van Riet Lowe. *Department of Mines. Geological Survey, Union Government Printer, Pretoria. 192 pp., pls. 36, text figures 20. Price 5s.*

From the viewpoint of prehistory this is the most important publication that has yet appeared on the South African field. Much has been done by various writers on single sites, a few important, but the greater number relatively useless. Here we have for the first time a thoroughly competent survey of a single great field carried out by two geologists and a prehistorian.

The first sixty pages are devoted to a description of the geological position of Messrs. Söhne and Visser. This is the essential background for the prehistorian. Not only are the deposits discussed fully, but an excellent basis

for the climatic history of South Africa is laid down in this section.

Of greater anthropological interest are the hundred pages devoted to Lowe's work. He here describes implements of pre-Stellenbosch to Middle Stone Age types, and relates these with deposits on the one hand, and the climates which produced those deposits on the other.

It seems a pity in the Appendix A to withdraw the terminology used throughout the pages of this book. Quite apart from the difficulties suddenly encountered by the reader, there would seem to be insufficient typological grounds for the change. We are here faced by a strong Proto-Levalloisian industry quite atypical of Europe, and it would appear technologically inaccurate to describe this as Chelleo-Acheulean. A. J. H. GOODWIN.

GENERAL.**Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines.**

199 By M. F. Ashley-Montagu. London, 1937. xxiv + 362 pp. Price 21s. net.

In controversies concerning the early forms of human society, the evolution of kinship organization, and the history of the family, no single ethnographic observation has played a more important part than the statement that the Australian aborigines are not aware of any causal link between sexual intercourse and childbirth. As usual in such controversies, facts have been either brushed aside or over-emphasized in accordance with pre-conceived theory; elaborate reconstructions have been based, not upon the way the native thinks, but on the way he ought to think, or on the hypothetical thought-processes of his remote ancestors; and the living realities of native life have been butchered to make an evolutionist's holiday. Modern anthropologists will therefore welcome the first really comprehensive account of Australian procreative beliefs in which ethnographic evidence is given primacy, isolated statements are not torn from their context, but are considered in relation to the domestic, economic, and spiritual life of the native community, and the interest of the discussion is primarily in what exists, as opposed to what may have existed in the distant past.

It has been established that all Australian communities possess magico-religious theories concerning the causes of conception, while among a number of tribes ethnographers have also reported that the natives deny that sexual intercourse has any relation to pregnancy. The first problem with which Professor Ashley-Montagu is concerned may be stated as follows: Do the latter observations indicate real ignorance, or do beliefs in physiological causation co-exist with magico-religious theories of conception, being merely overlaid or suppressed by the greater social importance of the latter? The author adopts the former view, and proceeds to discuss the evidence which has been advanced against it, and to make intelligible what has been described as an "astounding ignorance of natural causation." He denies the relevance of the evidence of so-called "phallic ceremonies" (Chapter XI), and also the alleged contraceptive function of subincision, an interpretation which "to anyone acquainted with the anatomy and physiology of the male genital system" is "so patently absurd as hardly to deserve serious consideration" (p. 294). In a valuable critical section (Chapter X) the view originally held by Andrew Lang, and subsequently elaborated by Carveth Read, is subjected to penetrating analysis. The so-called "emphatic experiences" (intercourse, cessation of menses, quickening, labour and birth) which Read contends must have made possible a knowledge of the relation of the first to the last, are reviewed in terms of Australian native life, and the author comes to the con-

clusion, not only that there is no inherent reason why the relationship should have been recognized, but that it would be extremely surprising if the knowledge in question had been acquired under circumstances so patently unpropitious for the drawing of the correct inferences.

The first part of this conclusion the author establishes beyond doubt, and thus disposes at one blow of two erroneous interpretations:—that the Australian natives, not being half-wits, must have recognized the relationship, whatever the field-records may say or, alternatively, that the field-records are correct, and the natives must therefore be half-wits. The latter part of Professor Ashley-Montagu's conclusion, however, requires reformulation; as it stands, it leads him to the further conclusion that "it is extremely unlikely that any of these things [including the relationship between sexual intercourse and childbirth] could possibly have been understood by primitive man" (p. 322). This is difficult to reconcile with the fact that the vast majority of primitive communities do possess some knowledge, however garbled, of the relation of coitus to pregnancy. And as Professor Ashley-Montagu has shown that the conditions of primitive life tend to obscure the data from which the correct inferences might be drawn, it becomes necessary to consider another possibility, namely that a belief in the intercourse-childbirth relationship might be reached by psychological processes other than logical inferences of the type postulated by Carveth Read. Thus husbands and wives normally have regular sexual relations with one another, and the latter from time to time give birth to children: Why should not a relationship between the two activities be assumed, without any observation of "cause and effect" in the case of any given pregnancy? Such a view would accord very well with the evidence from those communities in which it is believed that repeated intercourse is necessary, a single act being held insufficient to produce conception.

It is necessary to bear this possible interpretation in mind in considering the author's discussion of the evidence which points to the existence, side by side, of physiological and magico-religious beliefs among some of the northern Australian tribes. That this is the case at the present time has been demonstrated by Warner and by Thomson; but Ashley-Montagu is inclined to attribute the existence of physiological theories to extraneous influences, possibly Melanesian. Here he falls into the diffusionist error of implying that certain Australian beliefs are not really Australian beliefs at all, because they may have been learned from Melanesians five hundred or a thousand years ago. The tribes in question may indeed have acquired their knowledge from outside Australia, or they may have hit upon the

truth for themselves, but the indisputable fact remains that in an actively functioning Australian kinship-system physiological knowledge can co-exist with magico-religious theories, however the latter may overshadow it in importance. Professor Ashley-Montagu tends to argue from one Australian tribe to another, a dangerous proceeding—compare, for example, the beliefs of the Trobrianders with those of the neighbouring Dobuans. However, whatever be our view of the author's thesis that knowledge of the physiological factors in reproduction was originally entirely lacking throughout Australia, we must accept his demonstration of the pre-eminent sociological importance of magico-religious ideologies in this area.

From the point of view of anthropological theory, this book is, at the present juncture, extremely significant, as much for its shortcomings as for its positive value as a pioneering effort in a most difficult field. The author deals with a complicated set of problems—biological, sociological and psychological—centering around the cultural significance of human reproduction. Here methodology is of supreme importance. And as Professor Malinowski remarks in a valuable *Foreword*, the most significant theoretical issue raised by this book concerns the contrasting views of anthropological method, embodied in his own 'functional' theory on the one hand, and in the approach of the 'intuitive' school of 'cultural monadology' on the other. The author has been influenced by both of these schools, and *Coming into being among the Australian Aborigines* may well serve as a touchstone by which their relative value may be assessed. So far as he is a functionalist, Professor Ashley-Montagu has placed primary emphasis upon empirical data, devoting almost half his book to the presentation and collation of actual field observations, including those which do not accord with his theory; he has discussed native beliefs in their context of domestic, economic, and social life; and he has stressed the importance of a detailed study of native beliefs, sentiments and theories relating to procreation for the student of Australian kinship.

In what ways has his work been influenced by the intuitive school? In the first place there is a hopeless confusion in the use of such terms as 'nescience of physiological maternity' which has already evoked a justifiable protest from Professor Radcliffe-Brown (MAN, 1938, 14). The monadologist's categorical imperative to construct consistent and all-pervasive cultural 'patterns,' with appropriate labels, has led the author to postulate a nescience of all physiological relationships, and where the obstinate realities of native life refuse to be squeezed into the pattern, he is driven to ambiguous generalities. Secondly, the urge to compare one 'pattern' with another leads him to contrast loosely the Australian theories of procreation with what 'we' are supposed to feel and believe about reproduction (who 'we' are, is never stated—here again, definition would spoil the 'pattern'). Australian nescience is opposed to European omniscience: "We think of our father and mother essentially as the individuals who 'conceived us,' (p. 29) for "our own system of beliefs tells us that a child is the immediate product of the 'fertilized ovum of the woman who bears it' (p. 308). The neat antithesis between an all-physiological interpretation and an all-social one is necessary to the pattern-contrast. But does it not distort the reality of human thought and social ideology in both cultures? In our own, for example, what evidence have we that even professional biologists or obstetricians, let alone the majority of people, think of kinship relations in terms of fertilized ova?

Finally, the monadologist's tendency to erect elaborate

and pretentious psychological interpretations on the flimsiest of field observations is occasionally exemplified in attempts to give a precise definition to isolated statements which are practically worthless as ethnographic evidence. This procedure is quite consistent with the basic assumption of the school:—the existence of 'patterns of culture.' A square foot of wallpaper is sufficient to enable us to infer the pattern of the whole. But the asymmetries, anomalies, and inconsistencies existing within the framework of culture render this method inapplicable to the study of human life.

These criticisms are of a general character. But it would almost be possible to go through the book sentence by sentence sorting out the sound conclusions of functionalism from the caricatures of intuitionism. Let the reader contrast, for example, p. 324 with p. 340: in the former we have part of a valuable and systematic account of the actual family behaviour of the aborigines; the latter, bearing the unmistakable imprint of the intuitive school, is a farrago of vagueness, exaggeration, and mis-statement.

However, even *qua* intuitionist, the book like others of its kind has a certain value. The psychological and comparative problems raised are of vital importance, but they can be, and must be, solved within the framework of the theory of culture which we already possess, and by the methods of investigation and interpretation founded upon it, unless scientific procedure is to be completely sacrificed to ethnographic surrealism. It is essential that those interested in the psychology of culture, and in the comparative study of different forms of social adaptation, should recognize the basic importance of universal human needs and aspects of culture; that they should realize that psychological interpretations should not be based on inadequate observations of concrete behaviour, and that in discussing psychological problems they must have recourse to detailed field-records, including full linguistic texts with adequate translations and sociological commentaries. As regards the latter, the survey of Australian languages at present being carried out offers a rich field for the study of problems raised by Professor Ashley-Montagu, and here as elsewhere it is to be hoped that his book will prove a valuable stimulus to anthropological thought and research.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

Bull-Roarsers in the Papuan Gulf. By F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist Territory of Papua. *Anthropology Report*, No. 17. Port Moresby, 1936. 55 pp. Price 1s. 6d.

This is a study of the part which the bull-roarer and its associated cult play in the social life of the Elema people. The author approaches the problem from a functional point of view, rejecting the study of origins and provenances (a useful distinction) as scientifically impossible and practically worthless. And he proceeds to trace out the many implications of the bull-roarer cult: its magico-religious significance and emotional appeal; its relation to kinship and economic obligations; its ethical and educational value, embodied in the maternal uncle's harangue; and finally (among some groups) the politico-legal functions which it subserves in supporting authority and providing satisfactory mechanisms for the settlement of disputes.

This study is of value from several points of view. It shows very clearly how, starting with a simple item of material culture, important implications may be traced out into every field of cultural activity; and that in a primarily religious institution, practical, economic, recreational and personal factors play a fundamental part. Mr. Williams does not let us forget the kind of obvious truth so often ignored, that the natives like their bull-

roarers, together with the feasting, sociability and self-display which the cult provides.

Theoretical objections might be raised to one or two of Mr. Williams' formulations, mainly on questions of clarity and explicitness; for example, in regard to the relation between myth and ritual, he writes: "While in any particular case they may have more or less in common, they may still be very largely independent" (p. 31). The meaning of this statement is not immediately apparent, nor is it clear from the context whether he regards the bull-roarer myths merely as anecdotes which have grown up around the cult, or as dynamic validations for ritual and essential elements in its ideology. That widely varying myths are told by different groups to account for a ritual system which is homogeneous among them does not affect the main problem: Whether some traditional charter is or is not an integral part of every significant body of ritual.

This is a valuable and essentially honest field record. Gaps in the author's information are frankly stated,

while his own psychological interpretations, impressions and evaluations are clearly differentiated from the record of ethnographic data. But perhaps he is wrong in suggesting that the former do not form part of a functional study. Intuitive impressions of native mentality are indeed dangerous unless they are candidly presented as such or, better still, are supported by empirical evidence. The scope of a work of this kind is necessarily limited, but if the author had been able to document his assessments with more detailed records of native statements and behaviour, he might have felt more confident in advancing them. And some would hold that judgments of value and suggestions as to the effects of change and its desirability are not necessarily excluded from a scientific study of human society, provided that they are not dictated by European prejudices or "pro-native" sentimentality; and even that they are eminently desirable if presented as objective assessments of human needs, as typified by the final section of Mr. Williams' monograph. RALPH PIDDINGTON.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Brass Portrait Heads from Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

201 SIR,—During my stay here under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council of New York City, the important discovery has been made of seven brass heads of the type for which Ile-Ife is famous. Five were found during the first week in January, and two more in the second week in February. They were uncovered by Hausa labourers building a new house in the compound *ile, ɔni wunmonije* which is about an eighth of a mile East of the East wall of the *Afin* of the *ɔni*.

The heads were found in two groups, of three and four, about 10 feet apart, and at a depth of no more than 2 feet. The first five were found in clearing away the topsoil to give a firm foundation for the walls, and the last two, one near each of the two groups, were uncovered in digging mud to build the walls.

So far the heads have not been identified with any of the *orishas*, which, of course, they are said to be. One clue to such an identification is that they come from the compound of a previous *ɔni*. All seven are in the *Afin* where they have been added to the collection of similar heads.

All seven are in the same style as those illustrated by Leo Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, Vol. I, London (Hutchinson), 1913, and are unmistakably portraits. Though unfortunately several of them have been damaged in the past, all were originally very beautiful pieces of work, as fine as *Olokun*, the other brass head, or any of the 'terra-cottas.' One of the most notable is a forceful, strong-jawed man. Another a woman, has had red and black lines painted across her face, above and below the eyes. All are larger than the *Olokun*, measuring about 12 to 15 inches. None have anything comparable to the diadem which *Olokun* wears.

Previous to these finds there were, I believe, only two metal heads: the brass *Olokun*, and the mask-head identified as *ɔbalufon II*, which is apparently of bronze. It is illustrated in *Nigeria*, No. 12, 1937, p. 3, published at Lagos, Nigeria. With the increase of the brass heads from one to eight their number becomes comparable to that of the terra-cottas.

Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

WILLIAM R. BASCOM.

Mr. T. P. O'Brien on Stone Age Cultures of Uganda.

(Cf. MAN, 1938, 182.)

202 SIR,—If my letter to MAN of July 4th (MAN, 1938, 182) has not yet gone to press, I should be glad to make the following emendations:—

In Paragraph 3, I said that the N. Horizon "was first

"named in July, 1935, by me." I now wish this to read: "was first named in July, 1935, by Dr. Solomon and myself."

Also I wish to emend the sequence table as follows:—
M-Horizon, Phase A = Early Acheulean (my old Early Middle Acheulean) Oldoway Acheulean-1.

M-Horizon, Phase B = Middle Acheulean = Oldoway Acheulean 2, 3 and 4.

N-Horizon = Proto-Tumbian and Levalloisian.

Nairobi, 30 July.

T. P. O'BRIEN.

[Before Mr. O'Brien writes to MAN again, he must really make up his mind what he wants to say. Two of his corrections (being obvious) had already been made by the editor.]

A Children's Game: West Australia and Kenya.

(Cf. MAN, 1938, 185.)

203 SIR,—The account given in MAN, 1938, 145, of a game played by children of the Ngadajara tribe in Western Australia, in which a number of children take part as follows: "Each child, with his thumb and index finger, takes hold of the skin on the back of one of his hands and of one of his mates," is to me very interesting, as I saw an almost exact parallel among the Kikuyu.

The Australian game is played to the accompaniment of a simple song which means "Ant-lion, go to your home." Among the Kikuyu the above quoted description, of how the players hold each other, fits perfectly, and the song is as follows:—

"Ngunyire Maara i!"

"Ngunyire Maara i!"

(repeated as many times as the leader likes)

"Kunyikia kabla."

This means—

"I pinched the spotted one, Oh!"

"I pinched the spotted one, Oh!"

(followed by)

"Let go the little mouse."

The last words are given without warning by the leader of the game and on these words each person gives his mate one final hard pinch and they all let go and laugh uproariously.

I note that a very similar game is also played by children in parts of New Guinea, and it would be interesting if other readers of MAN could supply instances bridging the gap between East Africa and New Guinea. Nakuru, Kenya.

L. S. B. LEAKEY.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
TEMMOKU VESSELS FROM THE LIU LI TS'ANG KILN-SITE IN SZECHWAN
1, 2, 3, vases; 4, rice-bowl; 5, 6, 7, 8, tea-bowls.



10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
TEMMOKU VESSELS FROM THE HUANG KO YA NEAR CHUNGKING, SZECHWAN
9, pitcher; 10-14, 16, 18, 20, tea-bowls; 15, 19, rice-bowls; 17, broken vase. The white base resembles the Homan 'temmoku.'



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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

China

With Plate L.

Graham

TEMMOKU PORCELAIN IN SZECHWAN PROVINCE, CHINA. By David Crockett Graham, D.Sc., Ph.D., B.D., F.R.G.S., West China Union University, Chengtu.

204 An interesting type of Chinese monochrome porcelain is the *chien yao* or *temmoku*. It was made, during the Sung dynasty and probably earlier, in Chien An and Chien Yang, Fukien Province. The colour of the *chien yao* generally varies from a black to a brown. The black is sometimes called a bluish black, and the brown a golden red. Sometimes there are variegated splashes, and sometimes 'oil spots.' Of special interest are the 'hare fur' and the 'partridge feather' teacups in which the black and the brown seem to be struggling for supremacy.

In Fukien the most common *chien yao* object is a round handleless tea-bowl with a small base, below which an outer rim or circle protrudes. The biscuit is very dark, almost black, often taking on a reddish colour where it was exposed to the fire of the kiln. On the inside the glaze is thicker on the bottom and on the outside it terminates short of the foot in a slight roll or in drops of porcelain. In Honan and in other parts of China the bodies of the *chien yao* porcelains are generally composed of white or light yellow stoneware.

A list of *chien yao* objects includes the small tea-bowl, a wider bowl with an unglazed ring on the bottom of the interior, a bowl of gray stoneware with variegated splashes, vases, pitchers with handles and snouts, bottles, jugs with two small handles, and jugs or bowls with 'oil spots.' Some of these are ornamented with flower, butterfly, and other designs.

It is well known that the Sung dynasty *temmoku* porcelain was manufactured in Honan and in other parts of East China, but not that it has been made extensively in Szechwan province. This has become known to the writer through his work in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.

The two largest and most important early porcelain kilns in Szechwan are those at Ch'ung Chou and at Liu Li Ts'ang. Both are Sung dynasty kiln-sites, but it is not known just when they began or when they ceased to function. In the Ch'ung Chou kiln some dark monochrome pottery has been found, that is apparently *chien yao*, but the specimens are not numerous. A type of much interest is the dark-brown jug with 'oil spots.' The materials from Liu Li Ts'ang, which is thirty li from the East Gate of Chengtu, are much more abundant. From this kiln have come small-bottomed *temmoku* teacups, some finely and some poorly glazed (Pl. L. 5-8), small brown *temmoku* bowls having an unglazed circle inside (4), dark vases with glaze terminating near the base (1, 2, 3) and vases, jugs and pitchers ornamented with flower designs, the flowers being of a lighter brown colour than the surrounding glaze.

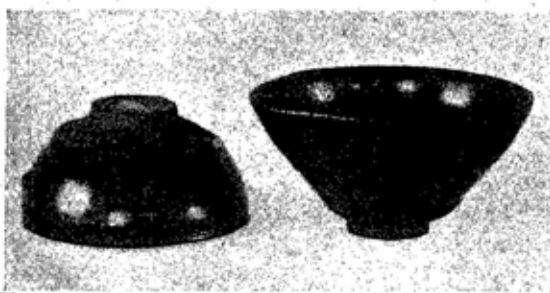
In April, 1936, the writer was in Chungking excavating some Han dynasty tombs which had been broken open by the construction of a road. Friends urged him to go across the river to Huang Ko Ya and investigate some sherds that had been found near that village. The result was the discovery of an old kiln-site near the edge of the village in which all the porcelain objects or sherds the writer found were *temmoku*. There was an abundance of the *chien yao* teacups, black or brown with small bases

(Pl. L. 10-14). Sherds were picked up that had the typical 'hare-fur' streaks. The glaze came to an end with a roll or drops of porcelain (11, 13, 16, 18), and revealed a biscuit that was generally light, but sometimes dark. There were bowls with the unglazed circles on the inside near the bottom (15, 19), and large pieces of vases. A villager brought out a brown pitcher with a snout and a handle (9) which he had dug out of the kiln. There were teacups with mottled colours. Careful search was made, but none of the Ming or Manchu dynasty porcelains, and no other kind but the *chien yao* was found in the kiln.

An interesting fact is that the bottoms of the Szechwan *chien yao* tea-bowls are generally flat, while those of the East China tea-bowls are generally depressed, and have a protruding circle on the outer rim. Another interesting

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FIGURES 21-24.

21. A black 'temmoku' teapot, probably from Honan. (C. 15323.)

22. A 'temmoku' tea-bowl with a white base, from Honan. (C. 13612.)

23. A 'temmoku' tea-bowl (inverted) from Fukien Province; 'hare-fur' markings, with the typical thick rim, and drops near the base; the body nearly black, and burned red where exposed to the fire. (C. 13748.)

24. A similar 'temmoku' tea-bowl from Fukien.

fact is that some of the teacups from Liu Li Ts'ang, and most of the objects from Huang Ko Ya, have as fine a lustre as the *chien yao* objects from other parts of China.

It is evident that during the Sung dynasty *temmoku* porcelain was manufactured in Szechwan in Ch'ung Chou, at Liu Li Ts'ang, at Huang Ko Ya, and possibly elsewhere.

One of the most common grave jars in Szechwan province is evidently a *temmoku*. It has been found in large numbers in Sung and Ming dynasty Chinese graves all over the province. The colours vary from black to brown, although sometimes one is seen with a shade of blue or purple. A very common ornamental design is a dragon trying to swallow the sun or the moon. At the bottom is the unglazed circle and the rim with occasional porcelain drops. This seems to be a Szechwan variation of the *temmoku* that did not occur in other parts of China. While its use began in Sung, it was continued into the Ming dynasty.

In Szechwan porcelain shops there can still be purchased a brown food-bowl that so closely resembles the Sung dynasty *temmoku* bowl with an unglazed circle inside, that many people could be easily deceived into believing that it is a Sung dynasty *temmoku*. There is also a brown pitcher that is used in many homes, which has a handle and a short snout. These and other dishes, bowls, and pitchers are probably the present-day descendants in Szechwan province of the Sung dynasty *temmoku*.

All the objects 1-34 are in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Chengtu.

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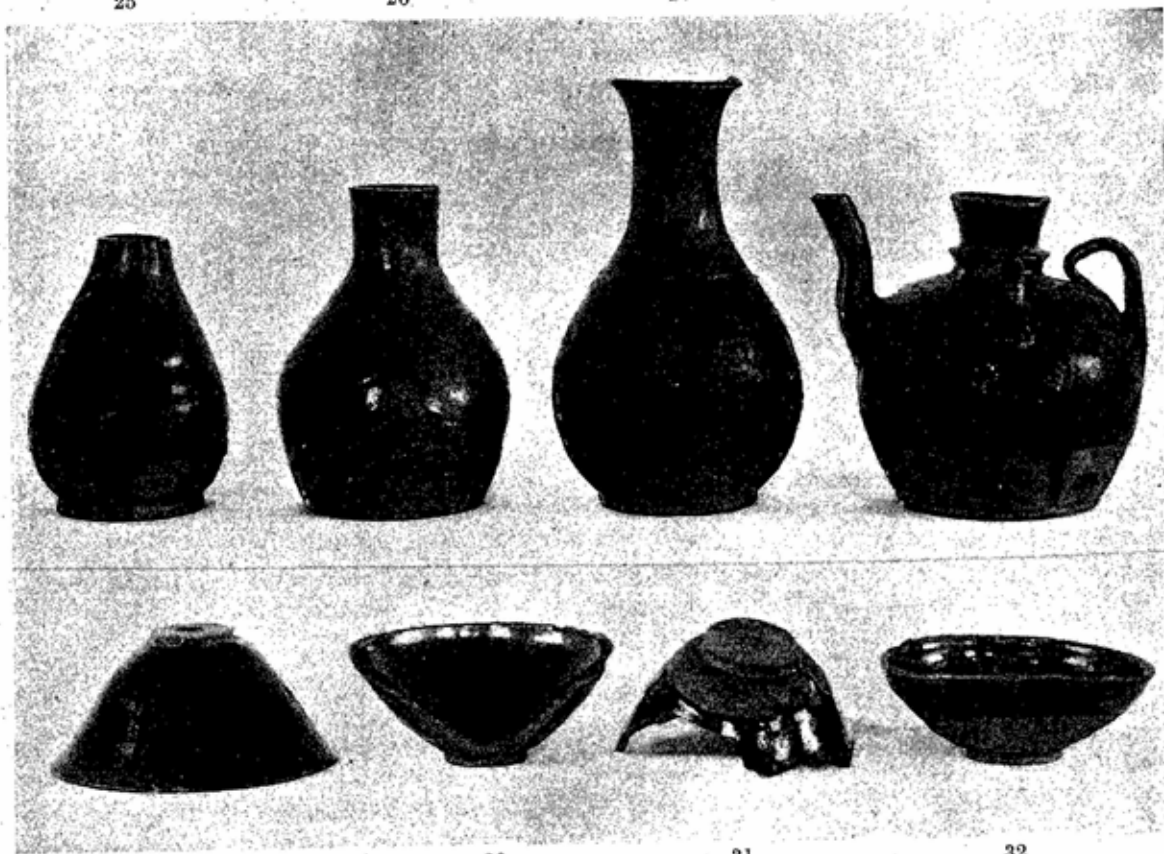
Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th ed., 1929.

FIGS. 25-32.—'TEMOKU' VASES FROM THE LIU LI TS'ANG KILN-SITE NEAR CHENG TU, SZECHWAN.

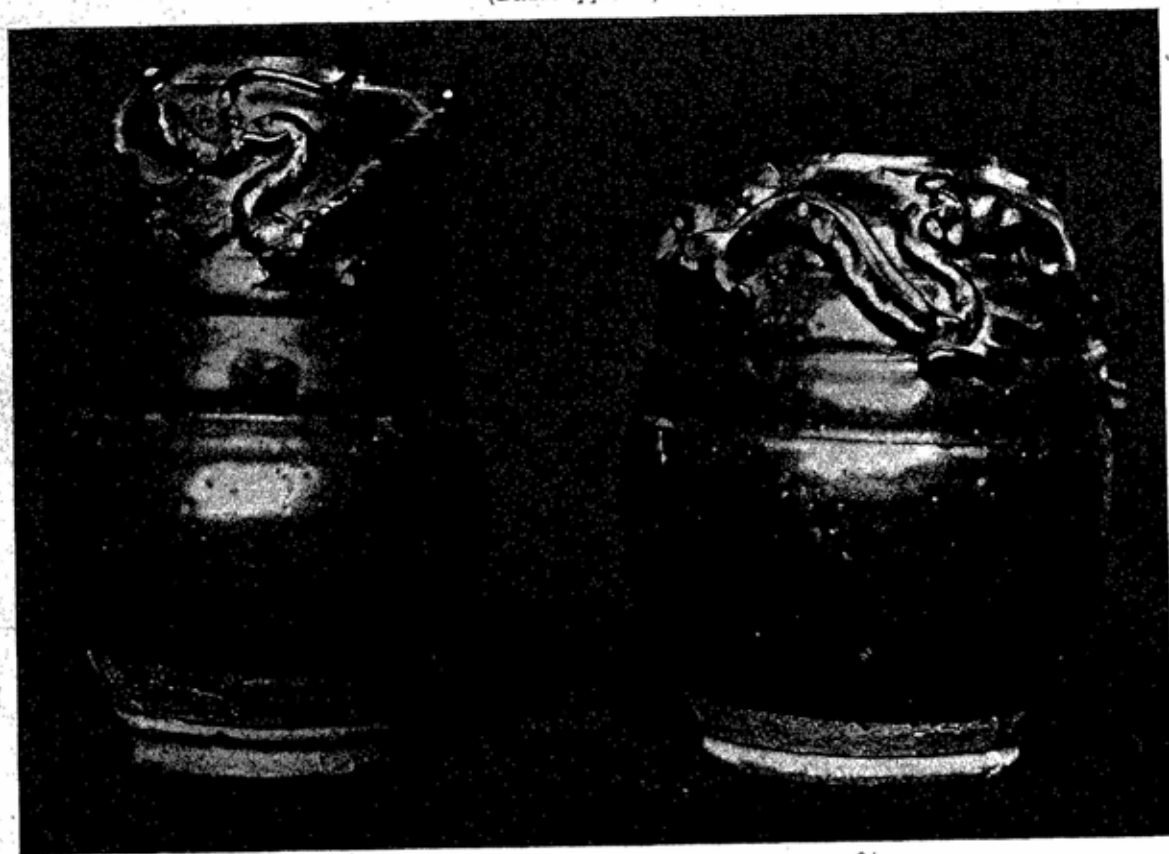
Nos. 25-27, vases; 28, pitcher; 29-32, tea-bowls: 25 is black, 26, 27 are dark brown. On 26, 27, 28, are flower ornaments made by a yellow slip on the body before the glaze was put on. One of the bowls has 'hare-fur' markings. The exposed bases of 29, 31 are flat with a small depression in the centre.

FIGS. 33, 34.—SUNG OR MING DYNASTY GRAVE-JARS FROM SZECHWAN PROVINCE.

The glaze is exactly like the *temmoku*, so that it seems probable that these are a West China variation of the *chien yao* porcelains. These jars are ornamented with dragons trying to swallow the sun.



FIGS. 25-32.—'TEMOKU' VASES FROM THE LIU LI TS'ANG KILN-SITE NEAR CHENG TU, SZECHWAN PROVINCE.
(Details opposite.)



FIGS. 33, 34.—SUNG OR MING DYNASTY GRAVE-JARS FROM SZECHWAN PROVINCE. (Details opposite.)

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF INDIRECT RULE IN NORTHERN RHODESIA. *By Sir Alan Pim, K.C.I.E.*

205 I propose to sketch briefly the main local conditions which have to be taken into account in developing the system of native administration in Northern Rhodesia, and to suggest a number of problems, the solution of which will require the co-operation of the administrator and the anthropologist.

You are all probably familiar with the anthropological work which has been done in Northern Rhodesia, such as that of Smith and Dale among the Ila-speaking peoples, of Dr. Audrey Richards among the Bemba, and of Dr. Margaret Reade among the Ngoni. A number of Administrative Officers have also made studies more or less on anthropological lines, such as Mr. Moffat Thomson and Mr. Lane Poole, in addition to the study of native usages and customs, which are an essential part of the work of any administrative officer who knows his job.¹

Only three tribes appear to have had strongly organized communities, the Makalolo in the west, succeeded by the Lozi, the Ngoni in the south-east, and the Bemba in the north-east. Of these three again the Lozi are a ruling clan controlling a number of subject peoples the bulk of whom were not far removed from serfs, and the Ngoni invaders were greatly intermixed with subordinate tribes such as the Chewa. Raiding their neighbours was a part of the normal life of all these tribes, but even more important in its effect on the life of other tribes was the slave trade. The central belt again suffered from Matabele raids across the Zambesi. As a result, many of the weaker tribes were hopelessly broken and scattered and it was impossible to preserve any real tribal organization. In some cases again, sections of tribes in Northern Rhodesia owed allegiance to Paramount Chiefs in other territories. The Paramount Chief of the Lunda lives in the Belgian Congo and that of the Inamwanga in Tanganyika, while Undi, the traditional Paramount of the Chewa, has only recently settled in the territory from Portuguese East Africa.

The coming of the white man, while it stopped slave raiding and the slave trade, has introduced

new factors of disintegration. The introduction of a substantial poll-tax has been important, though possibly not now the chief factor, in causing a drift of the men away from the villages. Recent inquiries suggest that in the Barotse province, excluding the Balovale district, from 30 to 40 per cent. of the men are normally absent, in the Northern Province the proportion varies from 40 to 60, except in the fishing areas, and in the Eastern Province near Fort Jameson it is even higher. The formation of reserves again had added to the confusion by shepherding parts of tribes into limited areas.

The problem of evolving some system of indirect rule was not made easier by the administration of the Chartered Company. Apart from Barotseland, to which treaty rights secured a substantial degree of independence, the policy of the Company was, in the main, one of direct rule, the Chiefs being used primarily as agencies of government. In particular the administration of justice was removed from their hands, and there was a tendency in the early days to break up the more powerful tribes.

The relations between the Government and the native authorities were more closely defined by a Proclamation of 1916 under which administrative officers were made responsible for the general control of their districts and chiefs and headmen could be punished for failing to carry out their 'legal orders.' Natives in general were required to carry out 'reasonable orders' both of the Chiefs and of the Native Commissioners and under this provision Chiefs were able to exercise considerable control, more especially in securing the services of *mulasa*, or customary labour for their gardens. The recognized chiefs were by no means always the traditional chiefs but included a considerable number of men who were recognized as chiefs because it was thought that they might be useful to the administration. Some of these have lately been replaced by the traditional chiefs.

After 1924 when the government was taken over by the Crown, attention was directed to bringing the system of native administration more into accordance with the general policy in the tropical African territories. The situation with which the Government was confronted was that, except for the Barotse, the Ngoni and

¹ For a general description of conditions in Northern Rhodesia see A. W. Pim and S. Milligan, *Report on the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia*, Colonial No. 145, 1938.

the Bemba, there was little tribal cohesion or authority. In the railway belt there had been little tribal authority even before the coming of the Europeans. Among the Tonga the authority of the Chiefs practically did not exist. The cattle-owning Ila have always been disunited and independent, recalling in their sturdy individualism the Pathan tribes on the North-west frontier of India. Further north in Mumbwa, there is a regular medley of tribes, and to the west of Lake Bangweolo and round the north-western fringe of the Bemba plateau, tribal areas are very small. The so-called Lunda under Kazembe in the Kawambwa district are a hotch-potch of sections with little cohesion and authority, very different in these respects from the Lunda of the Balovale district.

In 1927 a conference of administrative officers recommended the introduction of a system of indirect rule, with the important limitation that no financial responsibility should be given in the initial stages. In the same year the Government issued orders that they would not assist chiefs in exacting *mulasa* labour, and this went a long way towards abolishing an important communal institution, without (as in Tanganyika) giving the chiefs any compensation for the loss of these resources. As the control of ivory was also taken from them, and the slave trade had disappeared, chiefs were left largely without resources to meet the many demands on them. In Barotseland alone was compensation given for the abolition of customary rights.

Under the Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinance of 1929, which covered the whole country except Barotseland, chiefs were given a legal status in their judicial and executive capacities but no provision was made for the establishment of native treasuries, and no special stress was laid on customary institutions.

In 1936 Ordinances were enacted providing for the recognition of authorities and courts to be constituted in accordance with native law and custom. The warrants establishing the courts as a rule make no mention of advisers, though in fact councillors usually sit to advise chiefs.

On the executive side the Native Authorities are, unlike the position in Kenya, almost invariably the same as the Native Courts in composition. They are empowered to issue orders to be obeyed by natives living within

their areas for a number of purposes which include special powers in case of famine. The most important new provision is that for the establishment of native treasuries. Great stress is being laid on the principle of tribal unity and of re-establishing the old chain of authority, wherever it existed, from the chief through his sub-chiefs to village headmen and elders; district boundaries are being revised in accordance with these principles. Each tribe is intended to have a superior authority which may be either a Paramount Chief, as in the case of Kazembe of the Lunda, a Principal Chief with a Council of Chiefs, such as Tafuna of the Mambwe, or a Council of Chiefs of equal status, such as the Ila council in Namwala.

Each superior authority now has a Native Treasury, in theory administered by it under the general supervision of the District Commissioner. When a tribe extends over several districts, such as the Bemba, or where it has not been possible to assimilate tribal and district boundaries, sub-treasuries of the main tribal treasury are being set up. The districts with these sub-treasuries are already complaining that they pay in considerable sums and get nothing in return.

Where tribal organization has largely broken down, it has sometimes been necessary to attempt to combine sections of different tribes. In Mumbwa, for instance, seven tribes have been combined into two superior authorities. There is naturally considerable jealousy with regard to the control of the treasuries.

The resources of the treasuries are mainly derived from a refund of 10 per cent. of the Native Tax collected either inside or outside the district from members of the tribe, supplemented by court fees and fines, and various licences, all collected by the native authorities themselves. They are, however, not entrusted with the collection of the Poll tax. It is intended that ultimately further revenue will be derived from local rates or levies imposed by the native authorities themselves. Up to the present no such rates have been levied and as the Poll tax is already a heavy burden in most areas, it is difficult to see how they could be levied.

In many areas the tribes are showing a considerable degree of keenness and interest. On the other hand, apathy and dislike of responsibility are shown by chiefs who have been unfitted

by a long period of direct rule for the tasks which they are now being called upon to perform. There is a strong tendency to leave everything to the Boma.

There are two outstanding defects in the new organization. The first is the inadequacy of the resources provided. The pay of the chiefs is entirely inadequate if they are to carry out the duties and responsibilities imposed on them. Mpeseni of the Ngoni is in the proud position of getting £64 a year and Chitimakulu comes next with £60. Kopa, head of the Bisa, gets £36 and Kazembe of the Lunda £25. Other superior chiefs get from £12 to £24. Minor Chiefs get salaries down to £3 or even less. The other necessary officers are paid on a similar scale.

Even with these low scales of fixed salaries, 15 treasuries out of 41 have a deficit without making any provision whatever for other expenditure. One treasury only has a balance of £518, eight have between £100 and £200, ten have between £50 and £100 and seven under £50.

With the rapid disappearance of *mulasa* labour since 1927, Chiefs simply cannot be expected to carry out their traditional duties as well as the multifarious new ones imposed on them on these resources, and if, as seems probable, an experiment is to be made in collecting the Poll tax through them, the position will become even more impossible.

The second outstanding difficulty is the absence of any adequate recognition of the councils which form such an essential part of Bantu tribal government. The warrants to chiefs make no mention of any councils and the treasury estimates ignore them equally, except that the Bemba treasury estimates provide for the magnificent sum of £1 a year each for 25 Bakabilo and Bafilolo. District officers are doing their best to encourage the development of these councils, but many of the Chiefs are inclined to rely entirely on the authority given them by Government, disregarding their traditional advisers. Some have in fact no other basis for their authority. The Chiefs are the more inclined to work on these lines as they have in many cases no resources for entertaining the Councillors who may come in to assist them. The Councillors on their side are disinclined to come in and spend a long time at the headquarters of Chiefs who cannot reward them in any way and can do little to help or to harm them.

The position is further complicated by the fact that an attempt is being made to develop two types of councils, one of the traditional advisers in political matters, the other with an element of younger and more educated men as advisers in administrative and legislative questions so as to enable the Chiefs to keep in touch with modern developments. The possibilities of the latter type of council are seriously affected by the large proportion of the more energetic younger men who are away in the mines or on European farms.

In Barotseland the position has always been radically different. Barotseland has a well-defined tribal organization which has never ceased to function. The basis is the supremacy of the Lozi tribe which includes only about one-sixth of the total population and the actual power is vested in a small Lozi ruling class, represented by the Paramount Chief, a family privy council the *sikalu*, the *ngambela* or Prime Minister, and the *kholla* or Council. This is the supreme executive and judicial body and legislates for the whole of Barotseland.

Up to 1936 the relations of the Government of Northern Rhodesia to the Barotse administration under the treaty of 1900 remained uncertain. The powers of magistrates were not laid down, nor was it known whether the High Court had jurisdiction. Native courts had no legal status and could not look to Government to uphold their authority. District Commissioners, however, had no power to interfere with their proceedings, and their status, except as regards tax collection, was largely advisory. In 1936 a formal agreement was made under which the Paramount Chief's *kholla* at Lealui and the other *khollas* were recognized as Native Authorities and Native Courts under the Northern Rhodesian Law. Magistrates' Courts have now power to revise the decisions of Native Courts in criminal but not in civil proceedings. In the absence of any real distinction between civil and criminal proceedings under native custom, it is not clear how this will work out in practice.

Administrative officers will now be able to take up more of the ordinary activities of district officers. It must be recognized that Barotseland has largely remained in a state of stagnation, though for this the British Government must accept a considerable share of responsibility. There is much to be done, particularly in the

outlying districts where the non-Lozi tribes have so far had practically no share in any available benefits, though a full share in the payment of taxes. There has recently been what amounts to a passive revolt against Lozi domination among the Lunda and Lovale of the Balovale district and similar trouble is also possible in Mankoya.

The revenue of the Barotse Government is derived from three main sources; the first is fixed sums payable annually in consideration for the original concession or treaty of 1900 and recent forest concessions amounting to £2,350, and the second from annual payments in commutation of the right to unpaid labour and to revenue from game licences and ground tusk amounting to £3,350. The third and the most important is 30 per cent. of the native tax for Barotseland proper which was agreed to in 1925 in exchange for the previous payment of 10 per cent. of the tax collected in the whole of western Northern Rhodesia up to a line joining the Katanga pedicle with Portuguese territory. In 1925 also a Barotse Trust Fund was set up to administer the sum received from the tax, apart from £1,700 paid to the Paramount Chief personally. The balance was devoted to the maintenance of the Barotse National School and to educational and medical grants to missions.

In 1934 the Paramount agreed to the drawing up of estimates. These include on the expenditure side an annual stipend of £1,500 for the Paramount Chief with an unspecified sum for the maintenance of the residence at Lealui in the style to which he had been accustomed. The estimates have lately been drawn up and show a revenue of £13,446, an ordinary expenditure of £14,036, and an extraordinary expenditure of £1,178. There is therefore a considerable deficit which it is proposed to meet for the time being from the remaining assets of the Barotse Trust Fund. Of this expenditure £2,287 is provided for the Barotse National School, £2,197 for educational grants to missions, and £600 for medical grants with £286 for small expenses. The remaining £8,666 is devoted to the salaries and other expenses of the Paramount Chief and other Chiefs and Indunas. There is nothing for agriculture, dispensaries, or any of the other activities which figure in corresponding budgets in Kenya or Tanganyika. The proportion of the income devoted to salaries and personal

expenses is, however, not higher than in many parts of Tanganyika. On the other hand, the bulk of the expenditure is concentrated in Lealui and the expenditure in the outlying districts is substantially less than the income received from them.

The budget provision for Lealui itself, including the royal household, is an interesting study and has been described as reading like excerpts from a manorial account book. 200 ladies-in-waiting have to get dresses, and funds are provided for 16 hawkers, 8 weavers of nets and 10 fish a day at a penny a piece. There are canoe builders and paddlers, carpenters and wagon drivers ploughmen and caretakers of grain bins, four bands, the curator of the national drum, and the four enumerators of the Paramount Chief's herd. They are contemplating a new state barge for the Paramount's annual trip to the highlands when the Zambesi is in flood. The multiplicity of office holders and the definite promise to maintain the customary state of the Paramount Chief are serious obstacles to any substantial diversion of expenditure to purposes of more general advantage.

I may conclude by a brief reference to three problems which, while they are met with everywhere under similar conditions, are very pronounced in Northern Rhodesia. All three require the co-operation of the anthropologist and the administrator.

The first is how the system of indirect rule can be made to contribute to the material and moral progress of the people. At the present time, the standard of health and of living is deplorably low, and so far very little has been done to raise it. In most areas, the standard of nutrition is very unsatisfactory. This is partly due to the six or seven months' dry weather; in many tribes the months before the new crops come in are recognized as hunger months. It is not that varied crops will not grow, the ecological survey of North-Western Rhodesia has enumerated more than a hundred different varieties of crops found in the native gardens. It is not again that the natives are unable to learn new methods or adapt themselves to new conditions, or even that their methods are unskilful within the limits imposed on them by natural conditions. The spread of cassava and the development of the Mambwe system of mound cultivation are instances to the contrary. The spread of plough

cultivation is another instance of a somewhat unfortunate kind. There is, of course, much improvidence and want of foresight; and an unfortunate result of modern developments, and more especially of the labour exodus and of the falling into disuse of the custom of working for a wife's family, is that many of the younger men seem to be losing the intuitive skill in the choice of land for cultivation which was previously very marked.

Without an improvement in the standard of nutrition, there can be little real advance either in health or in education, or even in agriculture, but how can the tribal organization be most effectively used to assist in this advance? Without its aid progress will be slow indeed, and there will be a falling back whenever pressure is relaxed. For example, during the recent locust invasion strong administrative pressure was applied for the spread of root crops. It is true that the areas were not always judiciously selected but in the main the results were advantageous and the people had food at a season when they would normally have had none. This was fully appreciated, but when the locusts disappeared and official pressure was relaxed, most of them would not trouble to carry on the cultivation, and the old position returned.

Under the traditional organization, chiefs played a large part in all the economic activities of the tribe and they still do so to some extent, as, for example, in the case of the annual burnings for shifting cultivation, the times for which are still fixed by the chief for each tribe. Indirect rule, however, as so far developed, has been almost confined to the judicial aspect of the duties of a chief, and the new additions have been mainly in directions which to the average member of the tribe must seem of a repressive character. They consist mainly in statutory duties of many kinds, more especially police and sanitary, and the extent of their application depends on the personality of the district officer. Most of them have little or no basis in custom, and the old sanctions have no relation to them.

How is it possible to evolve a system of a more constructive type, which will be felt as of definite general advantage, and will therefore evoke a new loyalty and support?

A second problem arises from the need of adapting customary law to meet new conditions. Very rapid changes are taking place in such

matters as marriage customs and family life generally, and the speed of change varies from one tribe to another according to the conditions with which they are faced. How far will legal decisions based on old custom meet these changing conditions and what can be done to prevent legal decision being too far removed from general practice? A customary law which becomes too stereotyped may be a serious obstacle to advance and may bring the law itself into disrepute. This is, of course, a recognized difficulty in the way of establishing a code of customary law.

The principal cause of these rapid changes is labour emigration, and while there are a great variety of opinions as to its effect on the tribal structure, there has been very little scientific study of its results. Considering the proportion of the men who are normally absent, and among some tribes the increasing emigration of women, the effects must be considerable, but if it is concluded that the tribal organization on its customary basis cannot stand up for long against these influences, it would be well to consider such cases as Basutoland where similar causes operating over a much longer period have not as yet resulted in any noticeable dissolution of the tribal structure. It is true that the Basuto nation was hammered together by war and that it is much more closely organized than anything in Northern Rhodesia, even including Barotseland, while a tendency to disintegration which crops up now and then is held in check by fear of the possible results. The resisting power of a tribal organization may, however, even without the presence of special conditions, be much stronger than many people are inclined to recognize.

The third problem is closely connected with the second and arises from the special conditions of the railway belt, and especially those among the concentrations of population on the mines and in the townships. They are a mixture of many tribes and include a small proportion of educated and advanced natives who do not readily fit into any tribal organization. The mass of these populations are, however, labourers and apart from those who are in domestic service or in permanent employment on farms, it is largely a shifting population.

On the mines there is no definite labour policy as regards stabilization, and the general aim of Government appears to be to bring about a practice of employment for a limited period of

eighteen months or two years, followed by a return of the workers to their homes. Government also discourages the keeping of children at the mines after ten years of age. In fact, however, there is a considerable degree of stabilization and from 40 to 60 per cent. of the men are returned as married. Only a proportion of these marriages are in accordance with tribal custom, and a large percentage are purely temporary unions which would not affect the tribal organizations. There are, however, a considerable number of inter-tribal marriages not falling into either category, and proposals have been put forward for some system of registration of marriages so as to help in dealing with the many anomalies which arise. Strong objections have been raised to this partly because of the situations which arise when these men return to their villages where their marriages have no validity.

There are no constituted native authorities on the mines, and obviously it might be difficult to organize them without leading to trouble with the managements. Three of the mines have a system of elders recognized by the managements who act as arbitrators and advisers, but Government has lately introduced a system under which the principal tribes send representatives to assist the District Officers in dealing with cases. Friction seems possible between them and the local elders, but there has not as yet been any experience of the new system.

In the townships also there are no native authorities and the various compounds and locations are controlled by managers sometimes assisted by elders. There are no constituted Native Courts. The position does not appear to be a satisfactory one in many respects but the main argument put forward against establishing Native Courts to apply customary law is that they would probably result in evolving a system of law which would conflict with the tribal customary laws. The Belgians have apparently not considered this an insuperable obstacle, as they have established such courts, but they are, it is true, mainly in their *centres extracoutumiers*.

It seems to me that anthropologists may have

a valuable part to play in finding solutions to these very practical problems.

There is one last point which may be mentioned, and that is with regard to the introduction of individual land-tenure, as against the communal tenure in the reserves and in the tribal areas of Crown Land. In the central area there are large numbers of natives anxious to obtain land in individual tenure so as to be able to take advantage of the marketing facilities provided near the railway line. The anxiety to obtain such holdings is evidenced by the demand for the holdings near Broken Hill where Government has let a number of 5-acre plots at what can only be described as extortionate rents.

The problem occurs in another way in connexion with the reserves in the railway area, large areas of which are being rapidly deteriorated by gully and sheet erosion following on the uncontrolled use of the plough, coupled with the scarcity of water in parts of the reserves and the general anxiety to get as near as possible to the railway line.

The reserves will certainly have to be taken in hand but it will also be necessary to provide for additional areas to be taken up from the large areas of Crown Land now practically without inhabitants. In allotting these areas it will be essential to retain some control over the methods of cultivation to be adopted if there is not to be a repetition of the devastation which is evident in the reserves. The question then arises whether in the new areas the land should be given in communal tenure, or whether individuals should be allotted separate holdings, or whether some compromise between the two shall be adopted, such as, for example, is found in the customary tenures of India.

The question is one of great importance for the future, and it is essential that the solution should be on sound lines. Anthropologists should be able to give valuable assistance in securing that it should be such as is consistent with native feeling while at the same time giving reasonable security of tenure and assuring the preservation of the land.

NOTES FOR THE FIELD WORKER ON SOIL RECORDS. By G. P. L. Miles, B.Sc. Lond., Cranmore Ethnographical Museum. Illustrated.

206 No field worker's account of the particular system of agriculture followed by any primitive community can be complete without

reference to the soil, and the fact that such references in the past have been of a very perfunctory nature is probably due to a conception

on the part of the anthropologist that anything more than an allusion to colour and texture as gauged by a view of the surface will lead him into the airy realms of pedology, from which he is easily frightened away by such bogies as podsoles and hydrogen-ion concentration.

My object in putting forward these notes is to show that this fear is not justified, and that it is quite possible for any field worker, who can distinguish between the principal soil constituents—sand, clay, chalk and humus—to make reports capable of much fuller interpretation and leading to the recognition of soil-types that can be

the farmer. The determination of these constituents has in the past been effected by means of elaborate mechanical analyses made from very small samples taken from the top nine inches of very large volumes of soil, but the value of their practical interpretation was not very great, more especially since the roots of most agricultural crops penetrate to a depth of several feet. What is required is a more rapid method of recording the nature of the various horizons through which the roots must grow, as well as of the underlying rock, and this has been embodied in the 'profile' method of the Russian pedologists: Robinson,

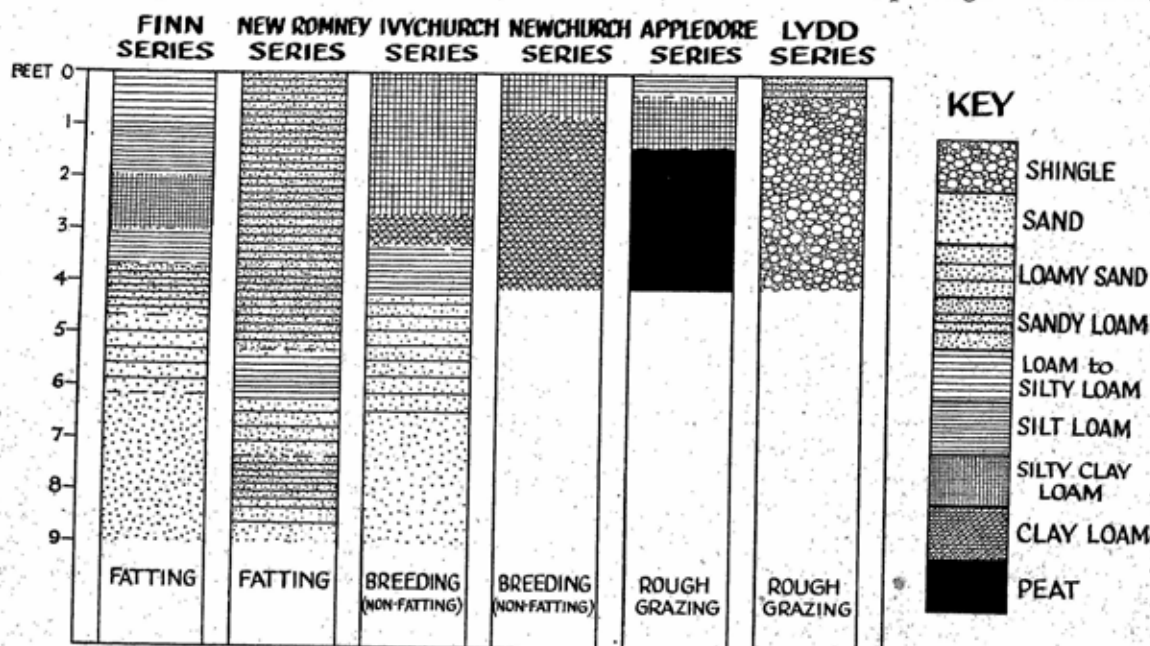


FIG. 1. ROMNEY MARSH, KENT: THE MORE IMPORTANT SOIL SERIES DIAGRAMMATICALLY COMPARED.
[reduced from Journ. S.E. Agr. Coll., Wye, Kent. No. 30, 1932, p. 160.]

identified on inspection with the soil auger, or by the flora alone. Here again it must not be supposed that an ecological determination of soil types necessarily involves a knowledge of systematic botany: it is possible to recognize a sandy heath or a boggy moorland without knowing the names of all the species thereon: such means of soil identification are practised by the Bemba.

It is upon the physical and not upon the ever-changing chemical constituents that the permanent characteristics depend, and it is these physical constituents that form the basis of all soil classification whether by the scientist or by

G. W. 'Soils, their Origin, Constitution and Classification. Murby.'

The anthropological field worker might well adopt some simplified form of this method and in order to do so should collect data on the following:—1. Surface features; 2. Water conditions; 3. Profile; 4. Parent material.

1. *Surface features.*—Records should include a note of elevation and aspect, some account of the type of country and the slope of the land, as well as the natural vegetation, which may ultimately form the basis of classification for the entire survey: it is merely necessary to note the names of the more dominant species.

2. *Water conditions.*—Water (insufficient or excessive) is in a large number of cases the factor of limitation to plant growth, and it becomes of importance to know if the soil is freely drained or if drainage is impeded and the soil perhaps waterlogged. In a great number of cases it will be neither, water conditions will be *normal* and no further note is necessary.

3. *Profile.*—This is the crux of the whole method, and must be observed in a quarry or other place where the various horizons can be examined, or alternatively by digging a vertical sided hole to a depth of at least 4 ft. if this is possible. If much work is to be done it will be an advantage to be equipped with a soil auger which is easily made by a blacksmith and consists of a one-inch wood-auger welded on to a mild steel rod four feet in length and finished to receive a wooden handle. The auger is used to make successive borings, a few inches at a time, and pulled out after each with the soil core intact.

In making notes on the profile it should first be divided into as many horizons as can be detected by the eye, any definite change of colour or texture being regarded as a change of horizon. The depth and colour (wet if possible) of each should be noted and also the texture as detected by rubbing the soil between the first finger and thumb. In this way it should be possible to recognize heavy and light sands, heavy and light loams and clays. Even if there is a difficulty in making these distinctions at first, it will become easier with experience and rough approximations giving some idea of the profile are preferable to a mere note on the appearance of the surface, which has in many reports in the past formed the sole record.

4. *Parent material.*—In many cases it may be found difficult to identify or describe the underlying rock; in which case it will be advisable to bring a small piece home, but in any case some attempt should be made to determine the nature of the material from which the soil has been formed; that is unless the soil has been transported by wind or water.

Finally a record should be made of the spot where the profile examination has taken place and this should if possible be indicated on a map by means of a number corresponding to that in the field book.

After a number of profiles have been examined a similarity in the horizons and the natural flora

will be noticed and the soils may then be classified into types and a system of nomenclature adopted similar to that indicated in figure 1, which is a diagrammatic representation of six profiles typical of the soils of Romney Marsh, Kent. It is interesting to note that some of the pastures on this marsh are famous for fattening qualities, while others superficially indistinguishable are comparatively poor. Mechanical and chemical analyses have failed to reveal the cause of the differences, but more recent work of Cole and Dubey—Cole, L. W., and Dubey, J. K. Soil Profile in Relation to Pasture Performance in Romney Marsh. No. 30, 1932, Jour. S.E. Agric. College, Wye, Kent—has, by means of the profile method, brought out these differences quite clearly, without recourse to any analyses.

I am indebted to Mr. B. S. Furneaux, Dept. of Pedology, South-Eastern Agricultural College, Wye, Kent, for kindly reading through this article; for the comment that owing to the very large quantity of water required by plants, he does not feel that this aspect has been sufficiently stressed; and for contributing the following additional notes:—

Water Conditions:—

'Insufficient,' 'normal,' or 'excessive' water is purely relative; what is normal for one crop is excessive for another.

1. Insufficient water may be due to:—

- (a) Openness of texture, i.e., sandiness or gravelliness.
- (b) Shallowness of soil over unweathered rock.
- (c) Insufficient rainfall.

2. Excessive water may be due to:—

- (a) Impervious underlying rock causing seasonal waterlogging owing to poor penetration.
- (b) Low-lying land saturated nearly to the surface: bogs, river meadows, etc., i.e., having a high water table.
- (c) Springs breaking out from a pervious rock, and saturating the lower layers of the soil.

Wetness or dryness may be seasonal and the same soil may be affected by both.

Profile:—

- 1. Some soils show a very marked cleavage into particles, and this may cause the soil to show a columnar or granular structure, which has

valuable diagnostic significance and should therefore be noted.

2. Some soils show a marked difference in compaction from horizon to horizon; the particles in some horizons being cemented together by clay, lime, or iron oxide. A condition such as this can be recognized by thrusting a knife into the side of an inspection pit.

3. Presence or absence of stones is important, and if present their geological origin, condition of weathering, size, etc., are worth noting.

Parent material :—

A few examples representing the most important varieties might be helpful:—

1. Igneous rocks of volcanic origin.

These are often crystalline, glassy or pumice-like. One should note the weight, presence or absence of crystals, hardness, etc., e.g., granite.

2. Sedimentary rocks generally exhibiting stratification.

Note the nature (clay, shale, sand, gravel, sandstone, limestone), also the colour, hardness and weight and presence or absence of fossils. A few fossils, if present, should be collected.

3. Metamorphic rocks. Slates, marbles, quartzite, etc.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

The Eskimo of East Greenland in the Past and Present. *Summary of a Communication by Captain Ejnar Mikkelsen, Government Inspector of East Greenland, 25 October, 1938.*

The last little remnant of the once rather large tribe of Eskimos, which for some centuries had lived from north to south along the huge East Greenland coast, was found by a Danish Expedition at Angmagssalik in 1883-84, numbering in all 413 individuals, who lived a primitive stone-age life, and who never before had seen a white man, hardly heard rumours of such.

The tribe had outlived itself and decreased so fast in numbers that when the Danish Government in 1894 established a small trading post at Angmagssalik, only 235 individuals remained out of the 413 who were found 10 years previously.

The Government intervention to save the tribe from total extinction came, decidedly in the very last hour, if hope of salvation of the tribe still could be sustained.

However, the more orderly conditions of life made possible by the Danish management of the Angmagssalik Eskimos, assisted by the establishment of a mission station to enlighten them, and not least—the importation to the settlement of crude necessities of life, etc., caused a complete change in every respect for this last remnants of a once very hardy tribe; famine has never since taken its formerly so heavy toll of the tribe; murder, with the disastrous blood-feuds, belongs to the past; infanticides were stopped, and the formerly so frequent suicides became very rare.

The better conditions and the safer existence under care of the Danish Government caused wonders, and the tribe, which seemed doomed a few years earlier, got a new lease of life; the 235 Eskimos, the human base of the settlement some forty years ago, has by natural increase now passed the thousand.

Parallel to this increase in numbers has gone a complete change of the whole basis of life for the

tribe. The stone-age weapons have now all disappeared, firearms are every man's property, and iron tools have taken the place of the old stone implements. The material part of the small settlement from 1894 has also grown apace with the increase of the population. Church and school are established at the principal settlement, also in some of the small villages; practically the whole population has learned the art to read and write, work small sums; the tribe has become semi-civilized and has amongst other matters acquired knowledge of money—paid out to the hunters from the government store for the saleable production of sealskins, bears, or for manual labour, and spent in the same store on goods from Denmark.

The welfare of the population has increased enormously, it thrives remarkably well under the new conditions, though very strict care still is necessary, particularly regarding diseases, new to the formerly so completely isolated community, and which under certain unfavourable conditions rake havoc amongst the natives—though a small hospital has been added to the Government buildings at Angmagssalik in recent years.

The settlement is closed to everybody who has not a government permit to visit it, and thanks to these strict rules the natives have never acquired the taste for liquor, which cannot under any conditions be had at Angmagssalik.

The growth of the population in the Angmagssalik-District caused, however, a relative decrease in the proceeds of the chase, and made removal of some of the people desirable. A suitable spot for a new settlement was found at the huge Scoresby Sound farther north, to where about 100 natives were transferred in 1925.

The natives thrive here as at Angmagssalik and before long it will probably be necessary to establish more settlements for the over-production of the Angmagssalik tribe; the stone-age Eskimo of old has disappeared, but in his place has Government care and forethought created a new tribe of Eskimos which, with the majority of the good qualities of

their stone-age ancestors of fifty years ago, has acquired new strength, which makes it likely that the East Greenlanders, still a 100 per cent. pure race, in generations to come will grow in number and

spread even farther along the coast than now is the case; reclaim from wilderness more of the land formerly inhabited by their disappeared kinsmen—the original East Greenland Eskimo.

REVIEWS.

AUSTRALIA.

Back in the Stone Age. By Charles Chewings, Ph.D. Sydney, 1937. 155 pp.

208 The author is a mining engineer, with some fifty years' experience of the Aranda and Loritza peoples of central Australia of whom he writes. His work in central Australia as contractor for the delivery of stores by camel team, or for the digging of wells, or in mining and mapping out the country, involved the employment of native labour, male and female. And a good deal of his account of native customs and habits is founded on incidents connected with the people in his charge. He has also made free use of the anthropological material collected by Pastor C. Strehlow of the Lutheran Mission at Hermannsburg. He bears witness to the good work of the members of that Mission both in their treatment of the natives and also in their publication of a grammar and dictionary of the language (one may mention also the translation of the New Testament made by them).

The author has evidently a great regard for the natives about whom he writes, and shows himself to be kind and patient, and sympathetic and understanding in his treatment of them.

He has a good deal to say about the women's hard daily round of food-gathering and preparation of food; also about their social status, and the treatment meted out to them by their husbands, whose virtual slaves they are. Since the advent of the white man, and the consequent dislocation of native society, the stealing of women has increased among the natives, and quarrels and murders occur more frequently. The author gives an account of the punishments meted out to offenders by the aggrieved parties.

To-day there is a free use of pidgin-English as the means of communication between whites and natives, and also (as in Melanesia) between those natives whose languages are mutually unintelligible. The author is of opinion that the natives of central Australia were domiciled there before the present desiccation of the country began. He speaks highly of their adaptation to their environment, of their intimate knowledge of the habits of all living things around them, of their use of what materials are to their hands, of their powers of observation of the things that concern them. He notices their ability to mimic, or to depict by drawing, the white man and his, to them, funny ways.

There are sections dealing with the prevailing practice of food-sharing caused by their haphazard nomadic life. Marriage regulations, the lending of wives, the treatment of children, the practice of infanticide, the theory of conception, the habits of the younger people, the powers exercised by the older men, curative or malignant magic, rain-making, these are subjects all touched upon.

Like the members of the Lutheran Mission whom he quotes, the author is of opinion that the final disappearance of the natives is certain. He deals with the proposals made by various bodies as to the future disposition of the natives, whether by segregation or otherwise, and is of the opinion that "no better method has yet been devised to improve the natives than personal contact with the respectable white man." To which one would say, "Granted; but this implies a

"selection among the various white men with whom the natives are likely to come into contact."

One cannot view with any favour the regulation of the Federal Government that "the black is to be bred out" by half-castes being compelled to marry whites.

WALTER IVENS.

Studies in Australian Totemism. By A. P. Elkin. The Oceania Monographs, No. 2. Sydney, 1937. 147 pp. Price 5s. (Australian).

209 This book is of especial value in that it brings within one cover in a convenient form a series of articles which originally appeared in the pages of *Oceania*. The resulting monograph forms one of the best contributions to the study of totemism in Australia that has yet been produced. The articles which compose it are based, in the main, on the results of Professor Elkin's own field work and studies in what he calls "the ideal 'laboratory' for the study of totemism."

The material for the studies was gathered by the author chiefly in the north-east of South Australia, North-west Australia, and the neighbouring regions. The first article gives a survey of totemism in the Karadjeri country, Dampier Land and the Kimberley Division. Particularly interesting in this connexion is the discussion of Dampier Land, where it long seemed that the work of Klaatsch and Bischofs had demonstrated the absence of totemism altogether, a fact which would have been unique in Australia. Dr. Elkin was able to show that this is not so, however, and in spite of his own early failure to detect totemism here, he shows how he finally came upon it. He is careful to point out, both in this particular connexion and throughout the volume, the gaps that still exist in knowledge of the subject, so that the work points the way to its own completion as well as recording what progress has been made.

Passing from this particular regional survey, Dr. Elkin next studies the relationship of totemism to the social structure, and, in the first place, to the sub-sections, sections and moieties. In the third section he extends this study to embrace the remaining types of totemism found in various parts of Australia, not only the north-west.

Whilst not explicitly providing any new definition of totemism, Dr. Elkin places the whole matter in a new light by submitting the Australian forms of it to a detailed analysis from the viewpoint of the relationships, social and otherwise, into which it enters. These relationships are shown to be not entirely concerned with kinship or even ritual in the strict sense, but embrace a far wider field than had been realized earlier. Thus he is able to show that 'the moieties, sections and sub-sections are alike forms of totemism,' and at the same time that 'exogamy may not be an essential feature of either a theoretical or actual moiety organization in Australia.'

Another of the less considered aspects of totemism is the feeling of the individual for his totem, and the author has done a service also in calling attention to this in his section on 'Individual Totemism' (pp. 129-131). From this he goes on to the study of sex-totemism, which has now been shown by Neuhaus to

exist in New Ireland also, and the comparison is interesting.

Totemism in Australia has also a definite relation to local organization, and this relationship is made clear by the author's field work in North-west Australia. Further still, its relationships extend beyond the local clan, or even the entire tribe, and ultimately embrace the whole of nature, gaining their final sanctions from the faith of the native in the 'eternal dream time.' Dr. Elkin's section on 'Man, Society and Nature' (p. 144) is an instructive summary of these facts.

It has been remarked that Professor Elkin does not re-define totemism, either as a beginning or a conclusion. Had he done so, he might have made clear what relation he believes to exist between totemism as defined by Professor Radcliffe-Brown—whose definition is clearly

Dr. Elkin's starting point—or by Professor Goldenweiser, and such 'borderline' forms of it as individual totemism or conception totemism. Neither are exactly embraced within the framework of the common definitions. Dr. Elkin suggests that 'personal totemism is 'akin to social totemism'; at the same time it does not fulfil all the requirements of the accepted definitions of totemism. In the case of conception totemism (see p. 139), the relationship is again not completely clear, and ground is left for further study.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the appearance of these articles in book form will serve to draw attention to them, and provide in a convenient shape a basis both for the understanding of Australian totemism as it is known at present, and an indicator and guide to further study to fill in the still existing gaps.

A. CAPELL.

FOLKLORE.

Suriname Folk-Lore. By Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits. (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XXVII). New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. xii + 766 pp., 27 plates and 7 figures in text.

This large volume, the work of two skilled and most diligent anthropologists, is as fascinating as any novel. The authors are to be congratulated, not only on their great intelligence, sympathy and thoroughness (it is not everyone who, working on American material, would test its value by going to Africa and there discussing his records with dark-skinned experts in the local speech and traditions), but on the curiously attractive community which they have found to work among. The Dutch colony of Suriname¹ contains a large Negro population which is in process of becoming slowly Europeanized. Costume, language and habits all show the influence of the white peoples, but the blacks are still African at heart and retain a great number of African customs and a 'social pattern' which savours rather of the West Coast of their native continent than of either Holland or white America. The government seems wisely content to leave them as much as possible to their own devices, interfering little and not trying to hurry a development which, if it is to be healthy, must be slow.

Part I of the book discusses, in what are modestly called 'notes' but seem to omit little that is of real importance, the culture of the Paramaribo Negroes, that is to say the inhabitants of the capital and other towns, the *foto suma* or townfolk, as they call themselves, in contradistinction to the *pranasil suma* or plantation folk and the *Djukas* or dwellers in the 'big bush', or hinterland. Naturally, the more African characteristics are to be found in the two latter classes; these, it would seem, the authors have had less opportunity to observe, though they have something to say about them. These city-dwellers dress for the most part like Europeans, at least in public, although many women wear the *kotoyaki*, an African modification of the old-fashioned voluminous Dutch skirt, and they commonly have kerchiefs which are thoroughly African in pattern and significance, although the fabric is none of their making. They also conform to the white man's laws (there is but little criminality among them) and, more or less, to his religion. But in private they have magical practices which owe little to any foreigner, a typically African use of songs (*laubi singi*),² a sort of combination of erotic, satirical and quasi-

magical performances) and a religion obviously of their own, consisting essentially in possession by *windi*, or spirits—it is an interesting case of convergence that they have hit upon the same expression for an immaterial being as the classical Greeks and Hebrews, *windi* being Eng. 'wind'. This makes many and varied compromises with Christianity, and the dances which form the core of its ritual, when performed in the towns, are limited to certain days which the official calendar recognizes as festivals.

Their speech, called Neger-Englesch by the Dutch, *taki-taki* by the negroes themselves, is a most curious jargon, any given sentence consisting of varied proportions of pure African words, English, Dutch and other European tongues. The syntax is mostly African, with the characteristic use of certain verbs as prepositions, and other such features. Abundance of examples are given in the folktales and proverbs which, together with a considerable number of songs, fill a great part of the book; they are printed in the original, phonetic script being used, and an exact English translation added, save for a few unintelligible passages, mostly in ritual songs. The volume concludes with a musical analysis of the tunes, contributed by Dr. M. Kolinski. Among the tales, as might be expected, those in which Anansi (the spider) appears are especially prominent. This section (Part II) also contains an account of the manner in which the traditional stories are told and the ceremonial, largely chthonian, attaching to them.

H. J. ROSE.

Pyrenean Festivals. By Violet Alford. London: Chatto and Windus. 1937. Price 16s. net.

211 Those who have had experience in endeavouring to collect folk-material at first-hand in the Pyrenees will appreciate the difficulties that have to be overcome and the many pitfalls that await the unwary. 'Calendar customs, music and magic, drama and dance' abound on both sides of the frontier, but the more inaccessible the locality the richer the field of research, and Miss Alford during her many visits to the region from Cantabria to the Ariège corridor has spared no pains in gathering her information. Moreover, as the bibliography shows, she has also explored most of the relevant literature. As a result she has produced a volume which will long remain a standard work for future students of Pyrenean festivals who will search its pages for new facts and consult the references to obscure publications.

After giving 'A Bird's-eye View' of the lie of the land, Miss Alford begins her investigation in Catalonia, where she describes the calendrical dances and bear-hunts, interpreted in terms of the killing of the king. Crossing into Roussillon she pursues her way along the

¹ So written throughout; it is more usual in English to spell it Surinam.

² The diphthong *au* is pronounced as in English, the other vowels in approximately the Italian fashion. For typographical reasons the reviewer has modified the authors' more exact spelling.

northern slopes of the Pyrenees to Andorra, Aude and Ariège, the pays du Luchon, Bigorre and Bean, to the Basque country; whence again crossing the frontier, she arrives finally in Aragon. Scattered throughout this area the bear-rite appears in "a hundred guises, all "tattered and torn, confused by duplication, accretions, "misunderstandings, yet still very recognizable." In her opinion it is founded primarily on the dread of hunger. The real victim was a divine being, either human or animal, impersonated by the king disguised under the figures of "beasts, hobby-horses, deers, bulls, goats and "bears." At Vallespir, after being caught and shaved, the terrifying creature carries off a bride and produces havoc among his enemies before he is finally killed. In Andorra he is restored to life in a resurrection ritual, while in Bigorre he "undergoes some extremely suggestive movements, suitable no doubt to a fertility-ritualist "wrapped in the skin of his sacred beast." In the Basque country the bear-hunt apparently was discontinued, perhaps for obvious reasons, till it was revived at Cheraut in 1935.

Although the folk-rites are inextricably bound up with the ecclesiastical festivals and the Church has acted as a transforming agent, especially among the Basques, the pre-Christian elements are seldom eradicated. Moreover, into such a feast as that of Corpus Christi, though medieval in origin, pagan observances have become incorporated, so persistent is the folk tradition, and when attempts have been made to eliminate or modify practices in the interests of decorum, invariably they have reappeared after a certain lapse of time. At heart the Spaniard is a traditionalist, and even under the stress of the present conflict, as Miss Alford reminds us, when the Nationalists entered Tolosa, the feast of the Assumption was celebrated with little winged angels and roses, and red-béreted soldiers danced *fandangos* in the streets, still under fire. Many customs, it is true, are disappearing, but on both sides of the frontier, happily, Pyrenean festivals die hard.

The geographical method adopted has the advantage of placing the material in its proper setting, though the

accumulation of facts sometimes tends to become wearisome, while the description of the rites is often lacking in detail and colour. The marriage custom known as *La Roete* has a deeper fertility significance than is indicated, and the Basque *Mascarade* has many more variations than are mentioned. But the songs and dance tunes are a valuable addition to the chapters, and the illustrations complete an excellent regional study.

E. O. JAMES.

Manuel de Folklore. By P. Saintyves. Paris: Nourry. 1936. 218 pp.

212 This volume is mainly concerned with the definition of folklore, and the historical approach to it. The introduction was Saintyves' address given to the Société belge de Folklore at Brussels in 1927. The definition restricts folklore to the study of popular life in a civilized community but expands it to cover almost all spheres of human activity. Folklore is popular lore as opposed to learned lore and therefore cannot exist in any community which has no learned lore. The term cannot be applied to primitive peoples: their activities are studied in ethnology. Ethnology and folklore together constitute sociology, which with its sister science psychology constitutes cultural anthropology as opposed to physical anthropology. Such is Saintyves' scheme, and he proceeds to draw up a plan for folklore study in any part of the world. The data to be collected are divided into three main categories: (1) material, such as commodities, work, products; (2) spiritual, such as language, popular science and philosophy, magic, religion, art; and (3) social, such as family, village, secret societies. The different methods of folklore study are detailed: descriptive, analytical, comparative, and historical. The book rapidly becomes a narrative bibliography, including nearly three hundred references, mostly French—a dish of rather dry bones and somewhat platitudinous, but necessarily so on account of its definitive character of a text-book.

CANNING SUFFERN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Chalcolithic Eskimos.

213 SIR.—In 1851 Capt. Robert McClure, in command of the 'Investigator,' was caught in the ice off Banks Island. There he found the Eskimos in possession of copper implements. "Copper of the purest description seemed to be plentiful with them, for all their implements were of that metal; their arrows were tipped with it, and some of the sailors saw a quantity of it in a rough state in one of the tents." (Sherard Osborn, *The Discovery of the North-West Passage*; 1856, p. 188.)

In 1910 the distinguished Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson landed on Victoria Island, which is east of Banks Island and is separated from the Canadian mainland by Dolphin and Union Strait. He found that the Eskimos on this island were using native copper, in preference to stone, for the making of their various implements. When on the ice and approaching Victoria Island, he and his Eskimo companion were faced suddenly by an Eskimo that 'grasped a long copper-bladed knife that had lain on the snow beside him.' He was pacified by their friendly gestures. When, later, Stefansson was entertained hospitably by these Eskimos, the wife of his host handed him a piece of boiled seal together with 'her own copper-

'bladed knife.' He relates that this was his first experience in the use of a knife of native copper; he found it "more than sharp enough, and very serviceable." The knife, they told him, had been hammered (with stone) out of a piece of float copper, that is to say, metal found lying upon the ground, "on Victoria Island, to the north, in the territory of another tribe, from whom they had bought it for some good driftwood from the mainland coast." Stefansson spoke the dialect of the Mackenzie River Eskimos, and he discovered that it was understood by these Copper Eskimos, as he named them. These people, he says elsewhere, "have no method of catching fish except that of hooks and spears. They do not use nets. The hooks, like most of their implements, are made of native copper, and are unsuited for setting, because they have no barb. Unless the fish be pulled out of the water as soon as it takes the hook, it is sure to get off again." He watched their use of "strong-looking bows and long copper-tipped arrows." (*My Life with the Eskimos*, published in 1913.)

From the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, it appears that the use of native copper is not restricted to Victoria Island, but extends to the adjacent mainland of Coronation Gulf

and Bathurst Inlet. A piece of copper as large as a common brick was picked up on the north shore of Great Bear Lake. From there, copper is known to occur, either in the form of drift along the streams or in outcrops on the hillsides, all the way northward to Prince Albert Sound on the west coast of Victoria Island, a distance of fully 300 miles. "The western limit of copper deposits known to us is in the vicinity of Dismal Lake, while to the east it extends at least to the east shore of Bathurst Inlet." Like primitive man elsewhere, these Eskimos find it difficult to cut the large masses of copper, and preferably make use of the small lumps that they gather beside the streams. They do not know how to melt the copper, nor, so far as recorded, how to anneal it; they pound it with stones into flat pieces and sharpen the edges of their cutting tools by grinding the metal on granular rock.

Of the tribes visited by Stefansson, the one known as the Kaheryuarmiut, on Victoria Island, appeared to be the most expert in copper fabrication. From deposits north-east of Prince Albert Sound, and from pieces of float picked up here and there, they make long-bladed hunting-knives, the half-moon-shaped women's knives, curved knives for whittling driftwood, rods for the foreshafts of harpoons, points for ice-chisels, blades for caribou spears and seal harpoons, points for arrows, prongs for fish-hooks, needles for sewing, and the nails or rivets used in the making and mending of implements of wood, horn, or bone. "Naturally," says Stefansson, "they have more practice than the members of other tribes in the making of these copper articles, and they are the wares for which they purchase sleds and other wooden articles. Some of these copper articles also they take with them on their long trade excursions to the head of Chesterfield Inlet (north-western part of Hudson Bay), where they exchange them for articles of wood and even for certain white man's wares, for, although they do not meet white men on the Akililik (river), they meet there the Eskimos who deal with the white men of Hudson Bay."

Stefansson calls these Copper Eskimos a people of the Stone Age. He is right. The copper to them is a soft kind of stone, as is the steatite, or soapstone, of which they make their seal-oil lamps and other containers. Mr. Stefansson tells me that they do not use stone artifacts, except a little black slate, which they break in pieces and then grind the edges on granular rock, to make knives. It appears that formerly they knew how to chip hard stone, such as quartzite, but now, finding the copper more amenable, on account of its malleability, they have rejected the use of stone. The slate knives and spearpoints found in the Copper Eskimo region belong to an earlier period of Eskimo life, to the people of the Thule culture, which extended from northern Alaska to Greenland. So Mr. Diamond Jenness informs me. These earlier Eskimos used hard stone as well, whereas the Copper Eskimos use only soft stone, soapstone and copper, except the unshapen stones employed for pounding the copper and for cracking marrow bones.

This use of native copper therefore does not belong to any stage of culture intermediate between the use of stone and the use of metal; on the contrary, and definitively, it belongs to an early phase of stone usage.

T. A. RICKARD.

'Meation' 'Creation' and 'Standardization.' (Cf. MAN, 1938, 144.)

214 SIR.—Will Miss Tildesley direct the attention of the committee for the standardization of anthropological methods to the improvement of its vocabulary?

In MAN, 1938, 144 she uses a word "meation" which might mean anything, and does mean something quite different, outside its particular context. I understand that *meatus* (meaning a 'passage' in Latin) is the anatomical designation of the human ear-hole; that the Greek diminutive-ending *-ion* has been adopted irresponsibly and wrongly by anatomists to denote 'the middle point within' such a passage—e.g., *porion*, for the middle of the *poros*, another such opening; and that *meation* has been invented to denote the middle point within the auditory *meatus*. But the word-ending *-ion*, from the Latin, signifying a process or the result of a process—e.g., 'creation'—affixed to the stem *mea-*, meaning to 'pass,' gives the regularly-formed, though unusual, word 'meation' for the 'act of passing'; which is not what Miss Tildesley means by an 'ear-hole centre'; any more than the Latin 'creation' means the 'middle of the flesh,' though *kredion* is a perfectly good Greek word meaning something different, namely a 'small bit of flesh.'

It would be a reasonable and simple feat of 'standardization'—itself a word compounded from three languages—to agree to construct each technical term within the limits of one. Otherwise we risk such terms as *téleschen* or *koyfetto* for the 'middle point of the human head.' Surely there are still a few persons who know enough etymology, as well as enough anatomy, to guide those who do not: and perhaps they will begin by discovering—or inventing—an English word for 'standardization,' which looks like a bit of Desperanto. By analogy with 'meation' it should mean 'the middle point in the making of a standard.'

JOHN L. MYRES.

Oxford.

The Uterine Nephew and the Gods.

215 SIR.—In a series of articles from 1915 to 1924 (v. below) I produced evidence that the uterine nephew eats the offering to the gods as representatives of those gods. I suggested that this lies at the base of his right to seize property belonging to his mother's people.

Mr. G. Bateson, *Naven* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 45ff., has now brought forward even more definite and complete evidence of the nephew's impersonation, and linked it up with the general principles of ritual. He lays down the following propositions which he supports with examples:—

1. The uterine nephew among the Iatmul of New Guinea dances in masks which represent the ancestors of the maternal clan:
 2. He is entitled to ornament his body with those plants which are the ancestors of his maternal clan:
 3. When the members of a clan sacrifice to their clan ancestors, it is the uterine nephews who eat the sacrifice:
 4. The uterine nephew eats his maternal ancestors.
- This last proposition may seem strange at first, but it is quite in accordance with the principle which appears in so many rituals that (a) communicant = god; (b) victim = god; (c) victim = communicant.

The custom of 'eating for the dead' still goes on in Iraq, but there the impersonator of the deceased is no longer chosen according to his relationship, as in India, but by reason of resemblance.

A. M. HOCART.

LITERATURE:—Hocart, *Chieftainship in the Pacific*, Amer. Anthr., XVII, 1915, 631; *The Uterine Nephew*, MAN, 1923, 4; *Maternal Relations in Indian Ritual*, MAN, 1924, 76; *Maternal Relations in Melanesian Ritual*, MAN, 1924, 132; *Kings and Councillors* (Luzac & Co., 1936), esp. p. 47; Mrs. E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans* (Oxford, 1937), 214ff.; index s.v. 'Equivalence.'



AUSTRALIAN FISH TRAPS FROM ARNHEM LAND

The gurl with two kurka in position, on a tributary of the Glyde River, Arnhem Land. The kurka are inserted on the upstream side of the weir (girwana).

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Australia

With Plate M.

Thomson

A NEW TYPE OF FISH TRAP FROM ARNHEM LAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.
By Donald F. Thomson.

216 The seasonal aspect of food supply, and its consequent influence upon the movements and occupations of the people, is strongly emphasized in Arnhem Land. At certain times of the year, especially during the latter part of the north-west monsoon or rainy season—which extends from about November to April—the natives of the coastal region depend to a large extent on fish for their supply of animal food. The rapid growth of long grass that follows the breaking of the rains provides refuge for kangaroos, wallabies, bandicoots, and other game, and renders them difficult to approach. In addition, the abundance of mosquitoes makes inland travel an ordeal to be avoided as much as possible. For a time, therefore, the natives tend to congregate in more or less large groups near the coast, where they engage in fishing.

The coasts of north-east Arnhem Land generally take the form either of rocky cliffs and headlands, or of low flat plains and 'salt pans,' intersected by creeks and waterways, fringed with mangroves. Fish are abundant in these coastal waterways, and here a number of varied and often highly specialized methods of fish capture are employed. The most interesting and ingenious of these is known as the *gorl*, which has been developed in adaptation to the special conditions of the valley of the Glyde River in North Central Arnhem Land. The ingenious

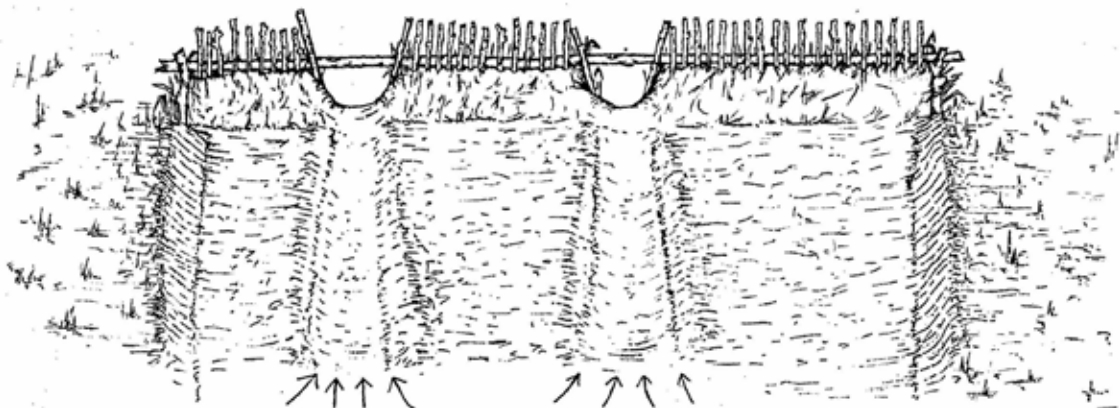


FIG. 1. FISH WEIR (YIRWARRA) PREPARED TO RECEIVE THE BARK FUNNELS (*kurka*, FIG. 2) SEEN FROM UP-STREAM. The wall (*kumur*) is faced with clay, excavated from the bed of the stream, in such a way as to deepen the approaches to the traps.

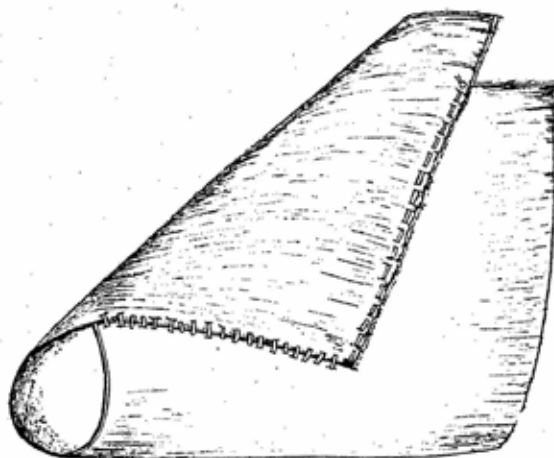


FIG. 2. THE FUNNEL (*kurka*) MADE BY ROLLING A SINGLE SHEET OF THE BARK OF *EUCALYPTUS TETRADONTA*, AND LACING IT WITH *Flagellaria* CANE.
Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.

nature of this type of trap, and the very restricted area in which it occurs in Arnhem Land make it of special interest and seem to justify a detailed description.¹

The *gorl* consists of a single sheet of bark of a 'stringy-bark' tree, rolled into the form of a funnel or spout, the *kurka gorl*², (penis of the *gorl*) which is inserted into a weir or fence, *yirwarra*, constructed across the stream to dam up the receding flood waters (fig. 2). This weir serves to raise the level of the stream, which then

¹ The expeditions in Arnhem Land on which the work presented in this paper was carried out, were undertaken under Commission from the Commonwealth Government, and as Research Fellow of the University of Melbourne, during 1935-36-37.

² *Kurka* occurs frequently in native symbolism, e.g., *kurka kurta*, literally 'fire penis,' expresses the English metaphor 'tongues of fire.' *Kurkamirri*—literally 'penis with'—is the general term for a male animal or male person.

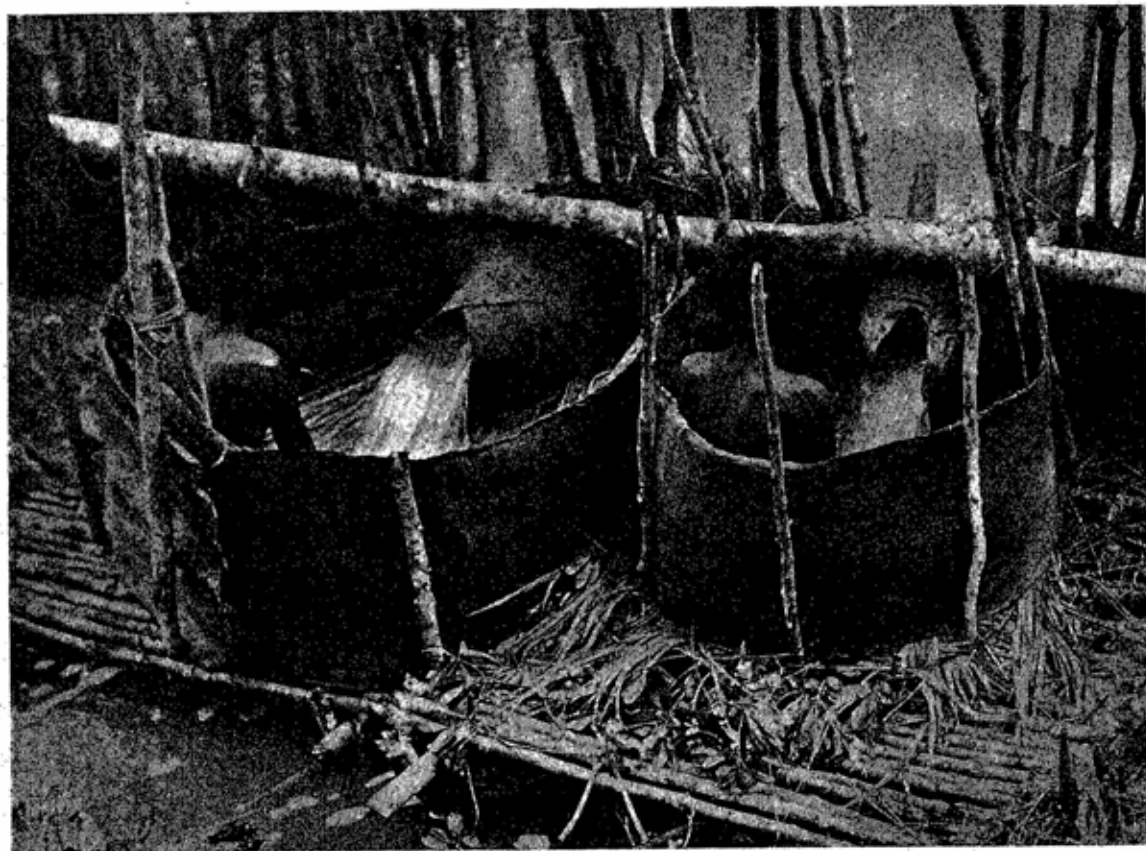


FIG. 3. THE SAME *Gorl* AS IN PLATE M, SHOWING THE *kurka* IN OPERATION.
A separate platform called *djamur* ('ribs') is constructed to receive the outflow of each funnel. The trap functions chiefly at night, and large quantities of fish are taken.

passes through the *kurka* or spout to the lower level. Beneath the outflow of this spout, and a few inches above the lower level of the stream, a platform is constructed of sticks laid crosswise to form a coarse grating on which the fish that are carried through the spout will be stranded. If the volume of water should be too great for one funnel, a second *kurka* is inserted, and another platform similar to the first is constructed below it.

The *gorl* technique is not in general use throughout Arnhem Land but is confined to a small area on the north coast lying between the Glyde River in the west, and Buckingham Bay in the east. Although this territory is inhabited by a very large number of small closely-allied groups differing very little in culture, the right to use the *gorl* is regarded as the exclusive property of two of these groups—Ngalladar Tjumbar'poingo and Kalbanuk group of Liagallauwumirr—and its use is restricted to these, though in practice they may be assisted by many of their neighbours. Tradition, handed on in mythology, furnishes for the natives the motive, the driving

force, in all behaviour and practice,³ even in matters of material culture. The peculiar and localized use of the *gorl*, the charter for which is given to one of these groups by mythology, and jealously guarded, is accepted by the people themselves as the real explanation of its distribution. There is little doubt that the actual reason is the very restricted character of the geographical conditions necessary for its successful operation. It can be used only near the coast and only when the flood waters are receding—at which time there is a nice balance between retreating flood waters and the tide—and the fish are moving downwards towards the sea.

I have seen the *gorl* in actual use in one area

³ It is of practical interest to note that while this is the important factor in the actual functioning of social institutions it remains sufficiently mobile, in the absence of a written language, to be amenable to modification even subconsciously—and therefore without any violence to the sentiments of the society—so that it does actually represent *organized public opinion*, current at the time, and serves therefore to give force to the rule of the old men in social and ceremonial matters. This is a matter of no small importance in a conservative society.



FIG. 4. THE *kurka gorl* WITH FISH, CHIEFLY barramundi AND CAT-FISH, STRANDED ON THE BED OF GRASS. THE FISH PASS THROUGH TAIL FIRST.

The height of the *kurka* above the grid is 15 inches.

only, when the conditions were such that it functioned admirably and provided large quantities of fish with a minimum of effort⁴ after the initial construction of the trap, which, however, was a laborious and a skilled undertaking. During the period from March to May in 1937, corresponding with the end of the wet season, the *gorl* was much in use in the valley of the Glyde River.

The Glyde River, in its lower reaches, meanders between steep banks of mud, through a wide flood plain. In the dry season it dwindles to a small tidal creek, but in the wet season it becomes a swift-running torrent, rising some twenty feet to the level of the upper banks. This is explained by the fact that it forms the natural outlet for the whole of the vast swamp lands of the Arafura Basin—a great low-lying swamp commencing some 20 miles inland and extending to the south and south-west, surrounded on all sides by hills—which drains into the valley of the Glyde through a relatively narrow gap. During the wet season, fish—especially estuarine fish such as the barramundi (*raitjuk*), cat-fish (*lirrmanja*), the archer-fish (*watarra*), and others—are able to move freely upstream, and to mingle with those from inland waters. When the floods are receding, towards the end of the wet season, the fish move down-stream in large numbers to the estuarine reaches. Under these conditions, when the flood waters have ceased to run like a torrent and are flowing steadily, the period apparently most favourable to the movement of the fish, the *gorl* functions well. Conditions somewhat similar to those described on the Glyde River occur also on the tributaries and creeks in the neighbourhood of the Goyder River, the Hutchinson Strait and the rivers flowing into Buckingham Bay.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE *Gorl*.

The first objective of the natives is to dam up the stream in which fish are moving freely, by throwing a strong wall across to ensure a fall of about three feet to the lower level. For this purpose a reach is selected, among the mangroves, where the stream is moderately wide and not

flowing swiftly enough to carry away the weir. The site selected must also be situated sufficiently far upstream so that the force of the tide will not overwhelm and destroy the trap.

Two strong forks, called *milikiri*, are driven upright into the ground on opposite sides of the stream, and a long pole, *korogoro*, placed across these. To the natives this, and the *kurka* itself, are the essentials of the *gorl* and these are used to represent it in ceremonial allusions. A palisade of strong saplings is now erected against this pole on the upstream side, and the stakes are driven deep into the mud. This fence is now packed, again upstream, with blady-grass and other coarse grasses from the neighbouring plain, not only to act as a barrier to the passage of fish, but also to serve as a base, and to reinforce the facing of clay which must be plastered over it to render the dam effective. An extremely stiff blue clay occurs in many of the streams in this region, which withstands the water well. The clay for this purpose is excavated from the bed of the stream in such a way as to deepen the approach to the *kurka* by the formation of a channel leading to the inlet. (See text figure 1).

The weir, *yirwarra*, is carried high enough to raise the level of the water some three feet, but care is always taken to relieve the pressure on the wall by permitting the water which is dammed up to overflow the banks on either side in a stream which, however, is too shallow to permit of the escape of large fish.

The time has now come for the insertion of the *kurka*. This is made from a single sheet of bark of *Eucalyptus tetradonta*, the same material as is used for the manufacture of bark canoes. The outer fibre is stripped off, and the sheet is heated over a fire. It is then rolled to form a spout and laced or sewn with strands of split *Flagellaria* cane. (See text figure 2.) This *kurka* is generally about three feet six inches in length, and tapers in such a way that when it is inserted into the fence the pressure of the water serves only to wedge it more securely in place. No space is left in the original weir for the insertion of the *kurka gorl*, nor is there any special modification required to receive it. An opening is made in the wall at the place which seems most suitable and it is then inserted underneath the cross beam or *korogoro*, wedged into place, and held by a single stake inserted obliquely on either side. The heavy blue clay which was

⁴ The matter does not, however, end with the positive effort of constructing the trap; there are, as will be seen later, certain ritual observances, generally of a negative character, which are no less important, failure to observe which may militate against success, and which serve a definite sociological function.

employed to plaster the breastwork of the weir is again used to set the funnel in place. This must be carried out so that no leakage occurs which would open the way for erosion of the wall. If it is found that a single *kurka* is filled so that undue pressure is exerted on it, a second is inserted in the same way as the first. But it is important that a volume of water sufficiently large to carry the fish is maintained at each *kurka*, or the trap will not function.

After the funnel has been set in place a grating in the form of a low platform is constructed immediately below the spout on the lower side of the weir, and a few inches above the level of the stream, as will be seen from Plate M and text figures 3, 4, so that the water drains through and leaves the fish stranded. A bed of grass is now placed below the outflow of the *kurka* to act as a strainer and to prevent the escape of small fish, shrimps, and other crustaceans, and a wall, consisting of two or more sheets of *kurdaika* bark—the same material as used for the *kurka*—is erected around the grating to prevent the escape of the fish. This bark is held in position by saplings on either side driven into the mud and lashed together to serve as clamps.

Although the grating takes the form of a 'platform' of a very familiar type that is employed by these people especially for the exposure of the dead, the usual name for that type of structure, *katauwurdo*, is not applied. Instead, they use the word, *djamur*, ribs, no doubt derived from the rib-like nature of the grating.

The actual measurements of the *gorl* shown in the accompanying photographs are as follows:

Length of weir from fork to fork across stream, 15 ft. 8 in.

Height of *yirwarra*, 2 ft. 3 in.

Height of dam above lower level of stream, 1 ft. 9 in.

Height of *kurka* above grating, 1 ft. 3 in.

As the *gorl* operates chiefly during the night, when the fish are making towards the sea, it is necessary to protect the trap from early morning raids by sea eagles, whistling eagles, and other predatory or scavenging birds. For this purpose leafy boughs are always laid across the tops of the bark enclosures at night. The fish invariably pass through the *gorl* tail first, as they swim with head to the current. I have mentioned the fact that the fish taken are those moving down stream to the sea with the subsiding flood waters, and this is stressed by an examination of the species that predominate. These are cat-fish, barramundi, and rifle or archer fish (*Toxotes*),

all of which are fish that frequent estuarine and brackish waters but which can live in fresh water, whereas mullet, true sea-fish, though they abound in the estuaries and saltwater creeks, and predominate in most other methods of fish-capture, are rarely taken in the *gorl*.

RITUAL OBSERVANCES.

For the natives, the matter does not end with the construction of the trap. There are a number of ritual observances which, though negative in character, are of no less importance than the construction of the trap; for failure to observe any of them may bring 'bad luck,' and so result in complete failure in the enterprise.

No woman during menstruation may eat any fish from the *gorl*. In the phrase of the natives: "If a woman is *mangomirr*⁵ (with blood) she must talk, 'I am *mangomirr*, I leave that 'fish'." "If him eatim, fish finish—him stop, 'no more come along *gorl*, *mango* stop im '—*malli*." If she were to eat the fish, no more would enter the trap, the 'blood' would stop them—the *malli*, the shade, the non-material part of anything. By this they meant that it would not be an actual material blocking of the trap, but rather a ritual stoppage.

All the men who are taking part in the fishing must also refrain from eating certain animals—chief of which are *mundukul* (*Liasis olivaceus*), a rock python; *obarko* (*Oxyuranus scutellatus*), and *darrpa* (*Pseudechis australis*), two species of large venomous snakes; *kungulung* (*Tiliqua*), blue-tongued lizard; *tjanda* (*Varanus* sp.), *goanna*, and *wangura* (bandicoot). My informants added by way of explanation "if a man eats rock snake after he has eaten fish from the *gorl*, 'the 'spirit part' of the snake remains at the 'gorl, and prevents fish from entering the trap. "It brings 'bad luck' to the fishermen." The natives believe that the spirits (more literally the ghosts—*malli*⁶—of the *wangarr*, the totemic

⁵ *mirr* is the *dua* moiety version of the suffix *mirri* used by groups of *yiritja* moiety, (p. 1 above) = 'with,' 'having.' Certain quite arbitrary and artificial distinctions are raised between groups of the two moieties speaking languages that are otherwise identical, an unusual method of giving expression to the opposition between moieties.

⁶ In discussing these matters, the natives were quick to add '*malli*.' *Malli* is really a 'shade' or 'ghost' and is used for the non-material part of anything, animate or inanimate. It is quite distinct from the *birimbir*, 'spirit,' which corresponds in part with our concept of the 'soul.'

ancestors) still remain in their ancestral territories and act as guardians of the country and of the game and food-plants which are a part of it. When a stranger, *mulkuro*, comes to the place, the *wangarr* (*malli wangarr*, in the words of my informants) smell a new smell, a new sweat (*bungan*), and the totemic ancestors will not 'let go' the food. "Wangarr look; 'Oh, 'this one *mulkuro*, we no more give it.' *Malli wangarr*, where he been die, him there yet, 'him keepim that *wanga* ('place,' 'country') 'belong him, like he been *malli* there along that 'place.' When a stranger hunts in new country, he must be rubbed with sweat of the people who

belong there, sweat that has a familiar smell, to appease and to propitiate the spirits of the totemic ancestors, which still preside over the country and exercise a ritual power.

The effect of this is twofold. Not only does it give to the territorial group, the clan whose territory it is, the fullest control over the land and all its resources, with a backing of supernatural power, but it serves also the function of providing an explanation that is acceptable to all when 'bad luck' attends a fishing excursion, a means of lightening the sense of failure, and of supplying the motive-power for a renewed effort.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TASMANIAN RACE. By J. Wunderly. *The National Museum, Melbourne.*

217 The origin of the Tasmanian aborigines has been subjected to nearly as much consideration as the origin of mankind. The discussion has extended over a long time; the resulting opinions have been characterized by much uncertainty, due partly to the paucity of the known facts. The question can now be reviewed in the light of additional data gathered during the past three decades.

Historical: from the Anthropological Aspect.

Written records represent many voyages of exploration to the coasts of Tasmania made between the years 1642 and 1800, by Tasman, Dufresne, Furneaux, Cook, Bligh, Cox, D'Entrecasteaux, Hayes, Flinders and Bass. Some evidence contained in narratives strongly suggests that many unrecorded voyages of adventure to Tasmania by 'blackbirders,' pirates, whalers, and sealers were achieved between these years, and also subsequently.

The official occupation of Tasmania by Europeans commenced in 1803, when a settlement was established near Hobart on behalf of the British Government. Estimates of the number of aborigines in Tasmania at that time vary between 1,000 and 7,500, those about 2,000 appearing to have the most reasonable claims to acceptance. These estimates, however, cannot be used as criteria of the original number of natives who reached Tasmania. Within seventy-three years of white settlement, the whole Tasmanian race became extinct, when Truganini died in 1876. Probably no other primitive race has succumbed so rapidly under European contact.

There is abundant reliable proof that mating occurred between the Tasmanians, and both Europeans and Australian aborigines, some of the last-named people having been transported to Tasmania by the government in an endeavour to revive the fast disappearing Tasmanian race. For this reason, the bodily remains, claimed to be those of Tasmanian origin, should be examined critically as has been done by Wunderly (21) to distinguish the authentic remains of Tasmanian full-bloods from those of mixed-bloods.

The Physical Characteristics of the Tasmanians.

What is known of the physical characteristics of these people has been derived from:—

(a) Descriptions provided by the explorers, European settlers, and others who saw the living natives.

(b) Systematic investigations of their bodily remains.

Wide reference has been made by Turner (16), Ling Roth (9), Bonwick (2), and others, to the numerous descriptions of the living natives, which were recorded either before or after the beginning of European settlement. A clear picture of the living Tasmanians can be built up from these descriptions.

The reports of the early explorers, and of the later voyagers and European settlers, generally lack the precise definition provided by trained observers. When trying to assess the degree of reliability assignable to any of the explorers' reports, one should consider the experience previously gained by the explorer-writers in observing and comparing the peoples of different races. Until the discovery of Bass Strait in 1798,

it was believed that Tasmania was continuous with the Australian mainland. It is obvious that, because of this belief, some descriptions fail to emphasize the differences in details between the Tasmanians and the Australians, at the time of discovery. However, from all the available descriptions it would not be possible to regard the Tasmanians as other than Negritos in type, but dissimilar to the Melanesians. Turner (16) gives an excellent description of the living Tasmanians' physical characteristics, summarized from a large number of these reports.

The systematic investigations of the physical remains of the Tasmanians, completed up to 1908, including his own inquiry, were referred to by Turner (16), who correlated the evidence resulting from them. The reports of the investigations made in the meantime have been dealt with by Wunderly (21).

Turner (16) and, subsequently, Hrdlička (5) found, after practical inquiry, that the skulls of the New Caledonians resembled those of the Australians much more closely than those of the Tasmanians, but were distinct from both. The results of the systematic inquiries unanimously classify the Tasmanians as Negritos.

The Antiquity of the Tasmanians.

Geology must be relied upon to provide the weight of evidence regarding the length of time during which the aborigines occupied Tasmania.

The work of David (4), is well known. In recent years, Lewis (8) summarized the findings of David, Griffith-Taylor, and Coleman, and correlated them with those resulting from his own inquiries. He concluded that the beginning of the occupation "does not appear to have been possibly later than"—100,000 years ago. Meston (11) subsequently criticized the evidence on which Lewis based his estimate, and gave several reasons why he considered that the occupation could not have commenced more than 20,000 years ago.

Anatomical evidence, which may have some bearing on the question, has been referred to by Wunderly (21). No inference in terms of years, however, could be drawn from it; a long time rather than a short time is merely suggested.

The Chief Views on the Origin of the Tasmanians.

The four principal views which have been

advanced regarding the origin and migration of the Tasmanians are as follows:—

1. That they were autochthonous.
2. That they travelled to Tasmania via Antarctica.
3. That they arose from the Melanesians, and journeyed more or less directly from an island in Melanesia to Tasmania, the probable island of origin most frequently referred to being New Caledonia.
4. That they were Asiatic Negritos, who migrated to Tasmania via the Australian mainland.

The first and second of these views have been abandoned for want of evidence.

The third view, generally attributed to Huxley, has been prominent in recent years, two writers in particular—Pulleine and Wood-Jones—having been enthusiastic advocates of it. Pulleine (13) relied on a general resemblance which, he considered, had been observed in the cultures of the two races. Such evidence, if it existed, would signify no more than the attainment of equal stages in cultural development. He did not reveal, however, any specific cultural tie between the Tasmanians and Melanesians. Wood-Jones (19 and 20) thought that the Tasmanians had journeyed from an island home in Melanesia, probably New Caledonia. He also believed that his view and Huxley's were consistent in detail. Evidence, revealed in the meantime, has displaced much uncertainty that surrounded some anthropological questions in Huxley's time, principally owing to lack of reliable data. Some of Huxley's more important views (6 and 7) pertaining to the origin of the Tasmanians are as follows:—

- (a) The Australian race was autochthonous, and unrelated to the Tasmanian.
- (b) The New Caledonians and the Tasmanians were Negritos, and they exhibited close physical resemblances.
- (c) The Tasmanians had migrated from New Caledonia, not via Australia, but by traversing a chain of intervening islands which had since disappeared.

The opinion that the Australian race arose independently has been abandoned for want of evidence. It is also recognized now that the Tasmanians were Negritos, and the New Caledonians were Melanesians, the latter people having been physically different from, and culturally superior to, the former. Huxley did

not believe that the Tasmanians could have travelled direct from New Caledonia. His suggestion, however, that a chain of islands (that existed after the time of man's origin, but which had since disappeared) had provided their probable route, has not been supported by geological or geographic evidence, all of which indicates former continuity between Tasmania and the Australian mainland, but no island link with New Caledonia during the human period. Meston (11) has effectively discussed the chances against the possibility of the Tasmanians having successfully voyaged from New Caledonia.

Two significant differences, therefore, between the views held by Huxley and Wood-Jones are as follows:—

(a) Huxley thought that the Tasmanians arose from the New Caledonians, who, he believed, were Negritos, whereas Wood-Jones considered that they arose from the same people who, he knew, were Melanesians.

(b) Wood-Jones thought that the Tasmanians could have successfully voyaged from New Caledonia, while Huxley believed they were incapable of such a feat of navigation.

Neither Pulleine nor Wood-Jones submitted any new evidence, and they did not have any anthropologically acceptable basis for their opinions.

All supporters of the third view have contended that the Australian race is pure in type, and this belief has been advanced as proof that the Tasmanians, or their Negrito ancestors, could not have given origin to the Australians. No valid evidence in support of their belief has been submitted by them.

In the light of discoveries made in the meantime, Huxley would have abandoned his belief that the New Caledonians and Tasmanians were "closely allied Negritos." Turner (16) and Hrdlicka (5), after making practical investigations, found that a closer physical resemblance existed between the Australians and the New Caledonians, than between the latter people and the Tasmanians. They did not find any evidence of a close physical link between the second and the third peoples referred to.

The question of whether the Negritos were ancestral to the Melanesians is beyond the scope of the present subject. Physically and culturally, the Melanesians represented a later stage of development than that reached by the Tas-

manians. To suggest that the latter people were derived from the former is equivalent to placing progeny in temporal priority to ancestry. The third view regarding the origin and migration of the Tasmanians must, therefore, be put aside for want of reliable specific evidence.

The fourth view has many supporters, including almost all those who have made systematic practical investigations in the fields of physical anthropology, and geology. Indirectly related to this view is the question of whether the Australian is a pure race, 'pure' being regarded in the generally accepted sense, or whether it arose from two or more ancestral races.

Undue weight should never be allotted to a single physical characteristic, especially of a superficial nature, when attempting to trace racial origins. Many earlier investigators and writers, having limited data available, attributed unwarranted importance to the character of the hair as diagnostic of race. Huxley and others went so far as to classify the races of mankind according to this individual characteristic. Even to-day there are some who hold that, because the hair of the Australians is generally found to be straight or wavy, and that the Tasmanians' was woolly, *ipso facto*, there could not have been a close affinity between the two peoples.

Valuable practical investigations of human hair have been made by Turner (17), Tiegs (14), and others. The writer has not found, however, a report of a practical inquiry into the effect on the hair of crossing between two stocks, such as the Mongoloid and the Negroid. The results of such an inquiry might be particularly useful in throwing some light on the racial origins of various races associated with the western or southern Pacific regions. It is not very rare to find nowadays a European with woolly or frizzy hair, which, regarded alone, would justify the classification of the individual as a Negroid.

If natives with woolly or frizzy hair were seen, as indeed they have been, in the north of Queensland, this fact is of little moment in regard to the relationship between the Tasmanians and Australians, because it is well known that, from times before European discovery, natives have crossed from New Guinea and other islands to Australia. It is, however, of some importance to the question under discussion, if this kind of hair were seen in parts of Australia remote from such points of ingress by other races. Many writers,

including Topinard (15) and Bonwick (2), have referred to numerous reports that were made in the early days of European occupation, to the effect that aborigines, with woolly hair and other Negroid characteristics, had been seen in the west and the south of Australia. While the accounts of untrained observers should be regarded with reserve, it should not be overlooked that the references apply to such obvious features as those seen in the face, the hair and stature, while the observers themselves, to whom Topinard referred, had been specially trained in France in preparation for their work of investigation in Australia.

Turner (16) referred to the great tendency he had observed for skulls found in the south of Australia to exhibit Tasmanian characteristics. He concluded that the Tasmanians had arisen "from a primitive Negrito stock, which migrated across Australia, rather than by the route of the Melanesian Oceanic islands . . ."

Berry and Robertson (1), after systematically examining fifty-two Tasmanian and ninety Australian skulls, pointed out that their results indicated (a) community of origin between the Australians and Tasmanians, and (b) hybridity in the former and purity of type in the latter people. Morant (12) concluded "that only two racial types can be found among the natives of the whole continent of Australia." Hrdlička's (5) practical inquiry led him to conclude that the Tasmanians and Australians were fundamentally the same race, admixture having affected the Australians. Wagner (18), who has made an extensive biometrical inquiry into the craniology of the Oceanic races, observed that his results showed the Tasmanians to have resembled the Australians in the west more closely than the groups in the other parts of the continent. He thought that an original Tasmanoid population in Australia may have been driven south and west by other peoples who had arrived later. He also found the Australians to be more variable in physical characteristics than any other Oceanic race examined by him. Cleland (3), who has tested the blood-grouping of the Australian aborigines, found only two blood-groups—a suggestion of intermixture between two racial types. Other instances could be cited, in which practical inquiries have yielded confirmatory results. Evidence has recently been found in Australia which, after systematic inquiry, may

yield evidence of a new kind relating to the questions of whether the Tasmanians formerly occupied Australia, and whether the Australian is a pure or mixed race.

People interested more in cultural than in physical anthropology have been puzzled during the last decade by the discovery of, apparently, a second culture in Tasmania. Meston (10) and Pulleine (13) found on the west coast of Tasmania cultural remains of a higher order than that usually recognized as Tasmanian. This discovery has been followed by many different interpretations, including that which assumes that the Tasmanian was a mixed race. This belief is, of course, in conflict with the whole of the physical evidence. Wunderly (22) has related the cultural evidence, from the discovery made by these explorers, to the physical evidence associated with the same region. He concluded that a small number of Australian aborigines reached the west coast of Tasmania not long before the beginning of European settlement, and were responsible for the remains discovered by Meston and Pulleine.

The authors of many books and articles on the Tasmanian aborigines could be mentioned who reviewed the reports of observers of the natives and collected all available information regarding them. Almost without exception they concluded that the Tasmanians had reached their island via Australia. Ling Roth (9) and Bonwick (2) provide particularly convincing reasons for their opinions.

The fourth view regarding the origin of the Tasmanians is the only one which is upheld by evidence resulting from systematic inquiries. It is also the only one which has confirmatory support from systematic investigations of the Australian aborigines. Conclusive evidence may yet be found, probably resulting from work on either living Australians or bodily remains of past generations.

Discussion of the Fourth View.

There are many reasons for believing that there was, in the distant past, a migration of Negritos from South-east Asia radiating out to the extremities of the larger land masses and to neighbouring islands, and probably extending over a long time. Those reaching Australia would have found the food supply scarcer than in their former habitations, and they would have been obliged to do what all people, black or white,

have to do in this country when a commercial food supply is not available; they would have had to spend much of their time in walking to hunt game. Variations in climate and in the concentration of game would have necessitated movements of tribes or family groups from place to place. Such minor alterations in habitat, on the part of the Australians, have been mistaken by some writers for evidence that these aborigines had reached that stage of development known as nomadism. Progress in any direction would necessarily have been slow under such conditions, and, while an estimate of the time taken to reach the southern boundary of Australia would be entirely hypothetical, it would not be unreasonable to suggest several centuries. The idea that some of the original inhabitants crossed from Victoria to Tasmania by continuous land has been abandoned on account of geological evidence to the contrary. Meston (11) has pointed out that they could have travelled by canoe in easy stages proceeding from one island to another. Land is visible throughout the whole journey from Wilson's Promontory to the north-east corner of Tasmania, while King Island, which is close to the north-west corner of Tasmania, is visible from the ranges at Cape Otway on the Victorian coast. Such a journey across Bass Strait, whether purposive or involuntary, would not have been as difficult under favourable conditions as voyages known to have been made frequently by the aborigines to storm-lashed islands off the south and east coasts of Tasmania. Those aborigines who reached Tasmania would have found a more plentiful supply of food in a more restricted area, and, presumably, they would not have sought to return to the mainland. On the other hand, islands in either chain referred to may have subsided, and thus rendered a return journey beyond their capacity. There is no justification for suggesting that all Negritos who reached Australia ultimately crossed to Tasmania. There is indeed much evidence against such a possibility.

These are the probabilities regarding the Negritos, which are consistent with the known facts concerning the Australians.

The suggestion, made by some writers, that if the Tasmanians (or their Negrito ancestors) formerly occupied Australia they must have all been driven into Tasmania by an invading hostile race should be regarded as merely a romantic

conception revealing, at least, ignorance of Australia. A modern mechanized army would not have an easy task in trying to drive a small or a large number of people into one corner of Australia. An attempt of this nature was made when 5,000 men, known as the 'Black Line,' tried to sweep into a corner of Tasmania the remnants of the Tasmanian race. The enterprise, which cost £40,000, failed miserably, for only one man and a boy were captured, the remainder having successfully escaped.

The only reasonable suggestion is that, if the race responsible for the gradual infiltration into Australia which is known to have occurred were superior physically or culturally, or in both respects, to the original Negrito inhabitants, the latter people would have gradually moved away from areas occupied by the former. Intermixture would have occurred in the regions of contact between the two peoples, resulting in the appearance of a new racial type. A progressive effect would have been the gradual disappearance of the entity of the Negritos, until it remained only in places far distant from the points of ingress of the racial infiltration. Finally, evidence of this entity would have been obscured or obliterated from the superficial physical characteristics throughout the continent, but it would persist in deeper intrinsic characters.

Numerous allusions have been made by writers to the fact that there has been a gradual infiltration into Australia of Malays and Mongoloid types from Asia from far distant times, and, more recently, from Melanesia and Polynesia. Environmental adaptation could not possibly account for the wide physical variability of the Australian race, which is not regarded by physical anthropologists to-day as pure in type.

Now, if the Negritos were the original inhabitants of Australia, and admixing races entered subsequently from the north, negritic characteristics would be expected to be observed most clearly in the parts of Australia remotest from the points of ingress, namely, the southern and western regions. Reference has already been made to the fact that this is so.

Many collectors of aboriginal relics have found stone implements in Australia which, they consider, resemble those found in Tasmania. There is also probable confirmatory evidence of the former occupation of Australia by the Negritos.

because the culture of an admixing race would certainly have been of a higher order.

Summary.

The four main views concerning the origin and migration of the Tasmanian aborigines have been discussed. The only view supported by evidence resulting from systematic investigations is that they were representatives of Asiatic Negritos, who travelled to Tasmania via Australia. The balance of evidence indicates that the Tasmanian race was pure in type, but that the Australian is a mixed race.

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THE KOMBWA CULTURE, KENYA COLONY.

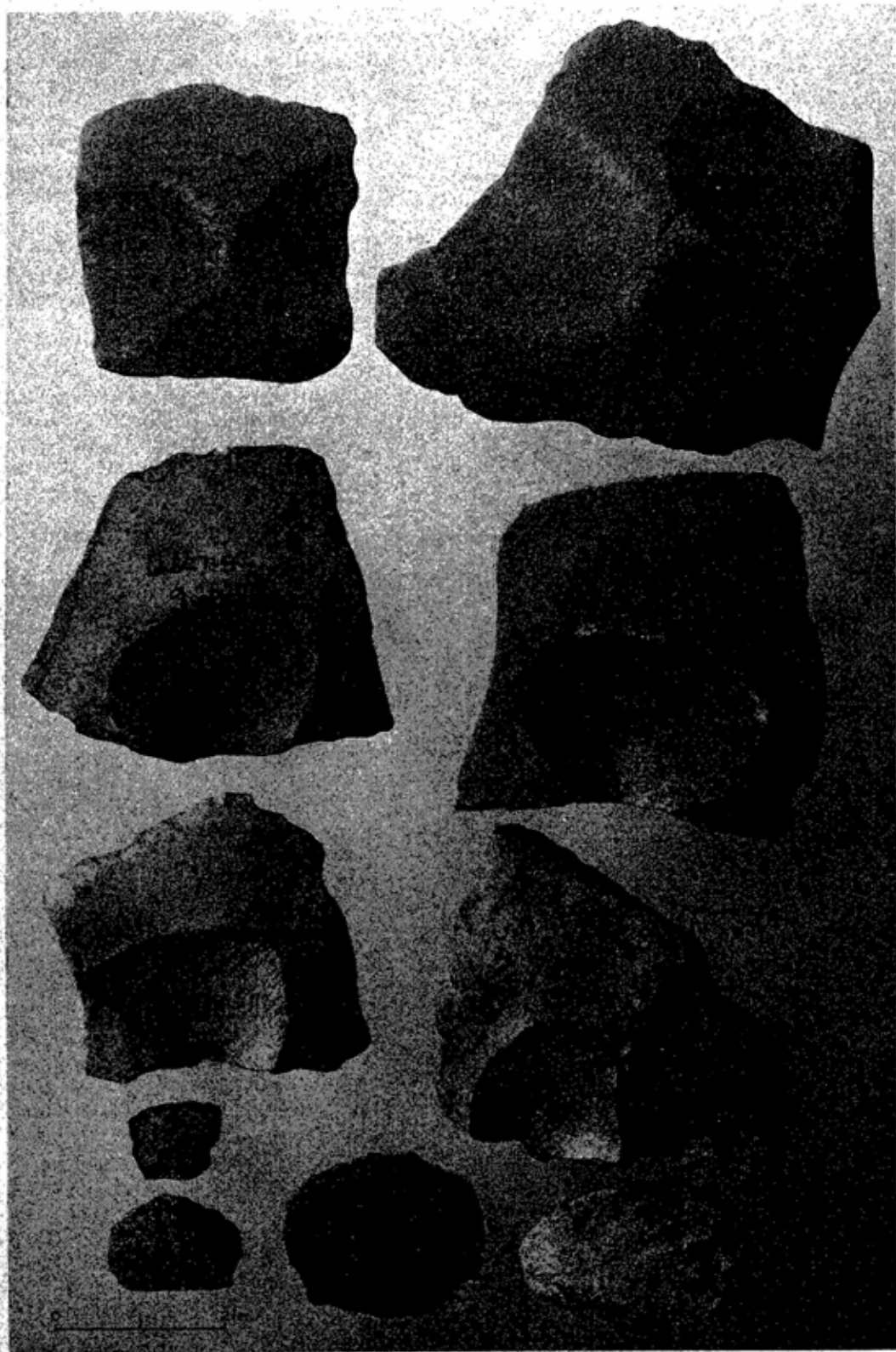
218 Kombwa is the name of a sub-section of the Location of Seme in the Central Kavirondo District of the Nyanza Province, Kenya Colony. It lies half-way up the escarpment on the north of the Kavirondo Gulf, and about eight miles from it.

In 1932 I collected some very rough, inelegant, large flakes, exposed where a road passed by a hillock. Some appeared to be waste product material, while others had one small flake struck from the ventral surface. It was evidently a workshop site, but at that time I found no artefacts which could be identified as finished tools. The material was a close-grained basalt, which had weathered fairly heavily. A year later I found what appeared to be similar waste

By the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen. Illustrated.

flakes and crude cores on the upper slopes of a hill named Usenge, in Kadimo Location, not far from the mouth of the Yala river in Lake Victoria. These specimens remained in my collection as of an unidentified culture.

In February, 1936, the Kisumu tennis club was preparing a site for a new court, and, chancing to visit it, I noticed that rubble excavated from the subsoil contained hundreds of flakes similar to those found at Kombwa and Usenge, though, on the whole, larger and coarser, and much more heavily weathered. It was clear that the culture could no longer be allowed to remain unclassified, so, for the purposes of study, a large collection of about 800 struck cores and about 100 tools (many of them damaged) was made from these three



sites. I took advantage of visits from Dr. Solomon, Mr. Wayland of Uganda, Professor G. van Riet Lowe and Dr. Leakey to show them the Kisumu site.

All three sites are hilltop sites, heavily weathered, with no stratification of beds. But at Aringo and Ng'ira in Karungu, on the east coast of Lake Victoria, I found during 1936-7 in stratified rubbles carrying both rolled and unrolled hand axes of Acheulean type, flakes and cores which seemed to point to the presence somewhere in the neighbourhood of a site of the Kombewa culture. In January, 1938, I set out to try to find it, and was lucky enough to get a workshop site of the culture on the slopes of Nyandwat Hill, at the foot of which Ng'ira lies.

In addition to these four workshop sites, single specimens have been found on sites over a wide area.

The Technique of Production.—The raw material is in every case the local rock. Large (9 inches by 7 inches), medium, or small flakes were struck from a selected block. The tool was struck from the ventral surface of the flake, which underwent no further flaking whatsoever before the tool was struck off. But in the majority of specimens pains had been taken to prepare the area from which the butt of the flake tool was removed, so that many tools show a faceted or trimmed butt. The facet was produced by removing two small flakes side by side, from a selected area of the side or end of the large flake, a central ridge thus being produced between the negative bulbs. The appearance of the prepared butt area now is that of a more or less flattened 'W.' In some cases further trimming removed the central ridge in part or in whole, and in still others the butt area was rounded. The peculiarity of the finished tool is its perfectly plain upper surface.

I have found it convenient to classify the struck cores under four heads with reference to the butt area:—(1) natural butts, i.e., in no way prepared; (2) faceted butts with central ridge; (3) faceted butts with trimmed ridge; (4) rounded butts.

The majority of the cores show only one tool removed. Of 120 cores picked up at Kombewa in an hour on 10 September, 1937, 102 had 1 tool removed, 14 had 2 tools removed, 3 had 3 tools removed, 1 had 4 tools removed. The cores can,

therefore, if desired, be classified as single-, double-, triple-, or quadruple-tool cores.

The Finished Flake.—As on many workshop sites, finished tools are small in number compared to cores.

Outline.—(a) Approximately rectangular with rounded corners; (b) ovate, somewhat truncated; (c) nearly round to semi-circular, with sub-varieties between these main groups.

Edges.—Only specimens from Usenge have been preserved well enough to show retouching or plain signs of use. Many of the edges are broken. Retouching may be on either the upper or the under surface.

Upper Surface.—In about 95 per cent. of the tools the upper surface of the tool is as plain as the lower. This is its outstanding character. The upper surface may be flat, slightly concave (rare), slightly domed or wavy.

Under-surface.—Plain, with often a marked bulb of percussion, and, frequently, a bulbar scar.

The Butt.—The butts are generally as wide as the widest part of the flake. Infrequently, they may be narrower than this. The angle of the butt with the cleavage face varies from a right angle (scarce) up to about 125 degrees. The latter is commonly found. With the exception of tools from type 1 core, the butts are faceted or trimmed by fine free or step flaking. Some cores show clearly that this was done before the tool was struck off. The butt is the most highly developed part of the tool.

Other Elements in the Culture.—Some of the cores from Usenge seem to have been used as scrapers, hollow, side and end. Two flakes from Kombewa suggest blunt-nosed end-scrapers. One larger flake from Kombewa seems to have been a chopper or large scraper. Two hammer stones were found at Usenge, though most of the large flakes suggest that the anvil technique was used to remove them.

Its date.—Professor van Riet Lowe and Mr. Burkitt incline to regard it as a Middle Stone Age specialized culture. Much more work must be done before the date can be positively determined. At this stage it suffices to remember that specimens occur at Ng'ira in an horizon which carries rolled and unrolled Acheulean tools.

A comprehensive range of cores and tools has been given to the British Museum.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

Some Experiments on the Origin of Early Copper.

219 Summary of a Communication by Mr. H. H. Coghtlan, A.M.I.M.E., F.R.S.A. (Ireland): 8 November, 1938.

The principal object of this paper is to consider how primitive man made the discovery which led to the production of the first copper smelted from copper ores.

The idea that a simple camp fire, or a shepherd's hearth, might have been the first smelting furnace is open to question. A number of experiments simulating primitive conditions were carried out to throw new light on this point. The results showed that the production of smelted copper in a primitive furnace is not so simple as it would seem from usually accepted theories, and the suggestion is put forward that the discovery of the art of smelting copper from its ores may have taken place through

the accidental inclusion of a piece of carbonate ore during the firing of pottery in a kiln.

The supply of native copper and its probable use for tools and weapons in early times is considered, and also the need for careful differentiation between tools or weapons which may have been made from native metal and implements fashioned out of smelted metal. Such distinction is not always easy; but, when the focus of metal working is under consideration, it is of great value, in order to obtain an idea of the distribution of the earliest objects made of copper.

The discovery and advantages of bronze are mentioned, and also the question of when the so-called 'standard bronze' was introduced.

Examples of early copper objects from Mesopotamia and Egypt are given, and notes on the probable source of the earliest copper.

REVIEWS

OCEANIA.

Studies in Indonesian Culture, I, Oirata, a Timorese Settlement on Kisar. By J. B. P. de Josselin de Jong. Amsterdam, 1937. 289 pp., 1 pl. Price 7 guilders.

This is a very solid piece of work, done under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation. It represents a small part of a year's investigations that were divided between five islands, Buru (Moluccas), Wetan (Babar Islands), Moa, Wetar and Kisar (South-Western Islands). The author tells us that the duration of his stay on the different islands "fluctuated between the extremes of a few weeks and four months, and was determined partly by external circumstances and partly by scientific considerations." He, very creditably, made his approach to the subjects to be studied through their own language. This, the first monograph of a series, is the result of only five weeks' work in the village of Oirata. There are, however, some annoying omissions in the volume, to which further reference will be made later. His method of study, the author tells us, was to make use of a native who could speak Malay, the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago. The narrator of a folk-story (nine leading members of the village were employed) would speak in his own language for a few minutes and what he said was then slowly repeated by the interpreter and taken down by the author. After the narrator had departed, the text was examined and corrected with the interpreter's help and a Malay translation of it given by him.

The book contains ten sections, or chapters. The first deals with the meaning of the name of the village of Oirata, clans and lineages, caste, kinship terminology, demographic data and the proper names of individuals; while the second consists of a population register. The third is an index of proper names, and the fourth contains folk-lore texts in the native language with translations in English. The others are devoted to an index of places and proper names mentioned in the text, a summary of the material in the texts, an ethnological analysis of the same, phonetical notes, grammatical notes and a vocabulary.

The annoying omissions in the work, to which I have alluded above, are that the author does not give us any information as to how the Timorese communities are

related to others in the matters of race, custom, religion or language. In the case of the last, having no literature on the Indonesian languages to hand for purposes of comparison, I have been considerably puzzled as to what place that of Oirata occupies in the Malayo-Polynesian group, to which it presumably belongs. In the vocabulary the origins of certain words are given; but these appear to be entirely, or almost entirely, loan words, Dutch, Malay, or occasionally Portuguese or Spanish. If there are any words related to Malay which have not been borrowed, they seem to be extremely rare, nor have I been able to find many words of which variants are common to Malay proper, the native languages of Borneo and those of Polynesia—such words, for instance, as those for fish (*ikan*, *ika*, *ka*), moon (*bulan*, *bulan*), sticky (*puluti*), two (*dua*), woman (*bini*, *wahini*), etc. Of the few words that I have found that resemble Malay, but are possibly not recent introductions, are the following: *ail* (fishing rod), *dapure* (dapor in Malay), *kirakira*, *kula* (*gula* in Malay), *limi* (*lima* in Malay; variants in Polynesia), *pat* (*empat* in Malay), *eusa* (*susah* in Malay), *tarum*, *uma*. *Pitu* (seven), is not Malay, but is found in related languages; in Borneo and elsewhere. *Ratu*, man of noble blood, is, one presumes, Polynesian.

The author gives us a comprehensive section on grammar, and remarks on the distinct preference for vocalic word endings, but here again there is nothing to show where the language of this Timorese settlement on Kisar fits into the linguistic jig-saw puzzle. One can only hope that a much-needed conspectus will be provided in later work.

Again, the solitary plate shows us some interesting types of the inhabitants of the village (two pictures), but the author has nothing to say of their physical anthropology, comparative or otherwise. Beards and an australoid (?) type of face seem to be not uncommon, but all that we are told (p. 3) is that "the immigrant group (i.e., the people of Oirata) is also distinguished by certain characteristics of physical type; in how far it represents a different racial element, as Rodenwaldt seems to assume, cannot be determined as yet, as there are no anthropological data from Oirata available." There is here a footnote reference—

"E. Rodenwaldt, *Die Mestizen auf Kisar*, Batavia (no date), I, pp. 6, 114"—but it would have been more useful if this author's remarks had been quoted or summarized.

Of the folklore texts in the native language, with translations, the author says that they have "the pre-tension of epitomizing the total sacred and profane history of the tribe." He further states that, in this account, "the two decisive acts of creation are the sexual union of sky and earth, in which originate, directly or indirectly, all beings and things, and their separation, which gives the cosmos its definite aspect and allows the performance of minor creative acts of a complementary nature." The Creator, except perhaps at the very beginning, stood aside. There are, it would seem likely, certain elements that have been introduced into the stories from outside, perhaps by missionaries—the creation of the first woman by the first man from one of his ribs, for instance. The author mentions, though he does not appear to agree with, this idea. The first man was the son of sky and earth.

With regard to clans and lineages the author says that at the present day the lineages are still strictly exogamous, whereas the clans are not. Neither clans nor lineages are strictly patrilineal or strictly matrilineal. The village of Oirata is divided into two halves, each of which is divided into a number of clans, and these two halves may "represent former phratries (exogamous 'moieties')." Nowadays there seems to be a preference for a man to marry within his own half village. There are three castes, too, intersecting the clans and lineages. These are now degenerating into "mere status-groups," membership of which is not dependent on birth only "and which are neither strictly endogamous nor hereditary in any definite way." There is, however, still a preference for unmixed marriages, especially in the highest caste (*marna*). In mixed marriages there is a tendency for the children to follow the mother's caste. Is it not possible that this term, *marna*, is the Hindu (Sanskrit) *varna*, 'caste'? *Vara*, a Sanskrit loan word, means 'colour' in Malay, and the connexion is not obscure.

I. H. N. EVANS.

Mangareva, l'Histoire Ancienne d'un Peuple Polynésien. By Honoré Laval. Edited by

221 Alfred Métraux in collaboration with Maurice Desmedt, with a preface by P. H. Buck. Paris: Geuthner, 1938. xxviii + 378 pp. Price 100 fr.

In spite of its unsystematic character, this record of the observations made by Père Honoré Laval during his sojourn in Mangareva from 1834 to 1871 contains many items of useful information on a little-known Polynesian culture. The value of Laval's record consists not in its positive contribution of material for sociological analysis—it is nowhere adequate for this purpose—but in the criticisms which it suggests of certain modern trends in Polynesian ethnology.

For example, Laval provides additional information on the Mangarevan system of astronomical observations (pp. 213-4) previously referred to by d'Urville. By the traditional standards of Polynesian historical studies, this should send ethnologists careering over the world to Chaldea or some other suggested provenance in search of 'origins' and 'parallels.' But in the light of Beaglehole's brilliant conception of "cultural peaks" (MAN, 1937, 176), such phenomena as Mangarevan astronomy must be regarded as special developments which reflect credit upon the inventive and creative genius of the Polynesians themselves rather than upon their capacity to hand down traditions and customs unaltered, to follow meticulously in the footsteps of their ancestors and, generally speaking, to behave like the automatically conventional and tradition-bound savages of the older anthropology.

Laval's observations on the Mangarevan *karioti* (pp. 319-20) are important in a similar connexion. This term is cognate with the Marquesan *ka'ioi* and the Tahitian *aroi*, and since all of them applied to the same type of activity, namely public entertainment, the recreation of young people and a high degree of sexual freedom, there seems to be a valid reason for suggesting, so far as any historical speculations in Polynesia are justified, that the three sets of customs, like the terms applied to them, had a common historical origin. Now the significance of this is its bearing on the suggestion put forward by Rivers and uncritically accepted by many other writers that the *aroi* of the Society Islands were derived from the secret societies of Melanesia. The *aroi*, with its elaborate system of grades and lodges and its important magico-religious background, lends some plausibility to this conjecture. But a consideration of Laval's material, or Handy's observations on the Marquesas, side by side with any record of a Melanesian secret society, reveals the lack of empirical evidence for the suggested connexion; that is, assuming that things which are historically connected with the same thing are historically connected with one another.

The first and major portion of Laval's book is devoted to the legendary history of the Mangarevans. Their chiefly genealogies as here recorded have been arranged in a table by Dr. Buck (p. xxviii) which, allowing the usual twenty-five years to a generation, places the beginning of Mangarevan history at about 1275 (p. 2, n.). Now apart from the general objections urged by Williamson and others against the method of genealogical chronology, Dr. Buck has himself shown, by a comparison of the traditions of Rarotonga with those of Mangaia, that as much as two hundred years may be dropped from a Polynesian genealogical record. The caveat '± centuries' should accordingly be added to any dates such as the above.

But although such records cannot be regarded as chronologically or even, except in very general terms, factually reliable, they illustrate the importance which the Polynesians attached to the illustrious ancestry of their chiefs, to the linking of these by genealogical descent with the gods, and also the traditional values attached to historical episodes. Like our tales of King Arthur, or the narrative of the *Odyssey*, such historical reconstructions of the legendary history of Polynesian peoples should be taken as reflections of poetic genius and social values rather than as accurate historical records. And though their importance hardly justifies the proportion of space which is devoted to them in Polynesian ethnographic records, they do possess a certain value. The same, however, is not true of the hypothetical reconstructions of remoter epochs in Polynesian history, and the attempts which have been made to trace Polynesian cultural elements to distant provenances. In this field, Père Laval has his own speculations to offer—he considers it more likely that the Polynesians came from Asia or Africa than from America. This leaves Europe and Australia as the only continents in the world which have never been suggested as the possible cradles of Polynesian culture, although 'parallels' and 'correspondences' quite as striking as those usually adduced could be found in these areas. And since neither geographical remoteness nor racial and cultural diversity has ever deterred the origin-hunter, there is probably yet time for theories along these lines to be added to the accumulation of ingenious—and (more often) ingenious—interpretations which make up Polynesian historical ethnology, before the inherent futility of this type of research becomes generally recognized.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

RELIGION.

Religion and Social Organisation in Central Polynesia.

222 By Robert W. Williamson, M.Sc. Edited by Ralph Piddington, M.A., Ph.D., with a preface by Raymond Firth, M.A., Ph.D., Cambridge, 1937. xxix + 340 pp.

This is a further compilation from the papers left by the late R. W. Williamson, and is designed to complete the accounts given in previous works: but it is so worked over that the editor's work should dovetail into and interpret the material left, in keeping with modern scientific methods. In this Dr. Piddington has been completely successful. The work is divided into two parts—'Gods and Worship,' and 'The Place of Religion in the Cultures of Central Polynesia.' The first part proceeds upon the method of detailed documentation with which students of Williamson's work are already familiar. It deals with stories of creation, the major Polynesian deities, and the gods of the various groups of islands, their temples and worship and sacred objects. Effort has been made not to duplicate the earlier works. One is glad to see that material provided by Dr. Firth for Tikopia and Dr. Hogbin for Ontong Java has been incorporated, even though these islands are not part of 'Central Polynesia.' At the same time, it would have been an advantage, could the implications of the differences between the religion and social systems of the Polynesian outliers in general—Futuna and Aniwa, Sikaiana, etc.—as well as Ontong Java and Tikopia—have been worked out rather more fully.

The first part of the work, however, aims at serving as a preparation for the second, which is concerned with the working of these religious systems in the daily life of the peoples. The Society Islands, Tonga, and Ontong Java are taken as special cases, and the part played by religion in the sanctity of chieftainship, economic relationships and Polynesian legal systems, is worked out. The inextricable interconnexion of myth, ritual and social life stands out through the whole of the book, and the work of mythology in providing a sanction for existing institutions, as well as an historical explanation of

the world we live in, is rightly stressed. Reference is made to writers in other fields than Polynesia, principally to Dr. B. Malinowski, who have made the same facts abundantly clear, and at the same time the existence of 'ethnographical lacunae' is pointed out—lacunae, many of which, unfortunately, cannot now be filled, but which stand as a warning and a guide to future investigators. They come as reminders of the need for grasping opportunities, both in Oceania and in other parts of the world, before cultures disappear.

The chapter on 'Religion, Magic, and Knowledge' is perhaps the most important part of the book. It is of particular interest, and raises a number of problems which are deserving of study. Its main thesis is the problem of reconciling the various definitions and theories of magic and religion that have held, and still hold, the field of anthropology. The proposal to regard the two as interdependent components of one magico-religious system is a valuable advance in theory of religion. There can be no disputing the truth of the contention, but some points in the general theory will not find complete acceptance, amongst them perhaps the statement that "all phenomena of magic and religion depend upon the existence of this source of putative superhuman power generated, as it were, by the community in the course of its integrative activities, which for the sake of convenience we may term the 'supernatural'" (p. 209.) Many will want to look in other directions for the foundation of this magico-religious system.

The influence of magico-religious beliefs on the legal relationships of human beings has not been at all fully treated before, although the foundation has been laid by Dr. Hogbin, in his *Law and Order in Polynesia*, a work of which the present writers make use. To direct further attention to the study of this aspect of primitive religion is a useful contribution.

Taken together, this is a book fully worthy of a place in the series to which it belongs, and which will repay careful study.

A. CAPELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Microlithic Sites in India. (Cf. MAN, 1938, 19.)

223 SIR,—In the table of microlithic sites (MAN, 1938, 19), which appears on one sheet in print, the sites in Western India end with the River Watrak. Among the sites in Central India and United Provinces, Jhansi is followed by Bundelkund, which was at the top of the second page of MS. As this list was compiled with the intention of locating the sites in their correct provinces, and to remedy the prevailing confusion, it is essential that the possibility of including Central India sites in Western India should be prevented.

D. H. GORDON.

A Survival of Flake-technique in Southern Rhodesia.

224 SIR,—In digging out a trench in a painted rock-shelter in order to discover the sequence of the contained industries, a number of natives were employed at various times. They were all Nyasaland boys. On one occasion I had only one boy with me, an Angoni named Tento. He was not an old boy, in fact quite young. Following my usual procedure, I asked him if he knew what I was doing, and handed him a well-worked point. He denied having seen anything like it before, but picked up a flake of flint-like rock with a serrated edge, and stated that the people of his tribe formerly often made similar objects for

use as knives. He then, without any prompting, gave the following description of the method of manufacture.

Two men worked together. A boulder of suitable size and material was obtained from a river bed. A fire was then made, and the boulder placed in the midst of it, burning wood being heaped all over the stone. When the boulder was very hot, it was removed from the fire and placed upon an anvil-stone, and held in place by one of the men. The second worker grasped a hammer-stone (probably also obtained from the river bed) in his two hands, and struck the heated boulder a hard blow. As he struck, he drew the hammer towards him slightly. In this manner a flake was detached. The flake was then laid flat upon the surface of the stone as an anvil, and the edge was serrated by percussion. The native, as he described the process, acted the use of the hammer-stone in removing the large flake, and the use of a small one in working the edge. The finished tool was given a sheath. It may be that stone tools were manufactured by tribes in Nyasaland until recently; and this may be well known. But so far as I am concerned, I have never found any other native who professed the smallest knowledge or interest in stone implements of any kind.

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